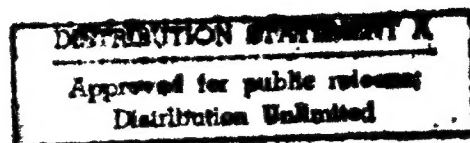


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# USSR Report

KOMMUNIST

No 15, OCTOBER 1986

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9 MARCH 1987

## USSR REPORT

### KOMMUNIST

No 15, October 1986

[Translation of KOMMUNIST, the Russian-language theoretical and political journal of the CPSU Central Committee published in Moscow (18 issues per year).]

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## LEARNING A NEW WAY OF THINKING AND ACTING

SPEECH BY M.S. GORBACHEV, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE, AT THE ALL-UNION CONFERENCE OF HEADS OF SOCIAL SCIENCE DEPARTMENTS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 86 (signed to press 10 Oct 86) pp 3-7

[Text] Dear comrades:

First of all, allow me to greet you warmly on behalf of the party's Central Committee and wish success to your conference which we consider very important.

Our time demands initiative and creativity in all realms of life. It has raised problems unprecedented in terms of novelty and scale, which must be solved within the shortest possible historical time.

The Central Committee proceeds from the firm conviction that the implementation of the course of acceleration, reorganization and achieving a qualitatively new status in Soviet society is inconceivable without enhancing ideological-theoretical activities and reliable scientific support for practical steps to improve social relations in developing socialism.

In their time, Marx and Engels wrote that even before the proletariat has won its victory on the barricades it proclaims the advent of its domination through a number of intellectual victories.

As far as the present is concerned, we can say that even before we have reached a qualitatively new status in our society, we must achieve major intellectual victories and show substantial progress in the realm of theory and in the creative interpretation of new phenomena and processes in life.

Theory is indispensable not only for future social and political guidance. It is necessary for literally each one of our steps. No single major practical problem can be solved without being interpreted and substantiated theoretically. Theoretical activities themselves are becoming one of the most important motive forces in the building of socialism and communism and the most important instrument in the reorganization.

Theoretical thought must identify more fully and profoundly above all the features of the contemporary stage of socialism and the individual levels of their achievement of a qualitatively new status it will attain in the period

until the year 2000 and beyond it. It must provide a scientific objective picture of the contemporary world as a whole.

These are no simple matters. Let us consider a single one among them. Our ideal is the all-round development of man, which presumes the increasingly fuller satisfaction of the growing material and spiritual needs of the people. It is important for material progress to be accompanied by intellectual and moral gains.

We know from experience that if the spiritual, the moral principles in man and society become impoverished, consumerist feelings invariably intensify, and the inner world becomes poorer. As we may see, the law of increased needs does not operate simply and automatically. This is a major problem which must be solved through the interaction of all factors of human life and development.

The developing reorganization issues a most responsible social assignment to the entire system of the social sciences. Our concepts of the dialectics of production forces and production relations must be enriched and so must socialist ownership, cooperation, people's self-government and democracy, the development of social consciousness, the reasons for and ways of surmounting negative phenomena and many others.

The party relies on the increasing contribution of the science of economics to our struggle for the development of production forces, use of vanguard technologies, quality improvements in production relations and changes in the forms of economic management and administration.

Without this the acceleration and the "engagement" of the main factor--the human factor--is impossible.

Briefly, the CPSU Central Committee considers the enhancement of the theoretical front a most important task. This is an inseparable component of our strategy and an urgent and objective social requirement. A great deal must be abandoned and much must be started anew along this way.

What do I mean by this?

The programmatic documents of the 27th Congress and the recent CPSU Central Committee resolution "On the Journal KOMMUNIST" speak of the need of reorganizing the social sciences. Its problem areas and specific ways and means of such work have been earmarked. You will be discussing them at this meeting.

Let me express my view on this account. Above all, I believe, it should be a question of the changed role and significance of the social sciences both within science as a whole as well as on the broader--social and universal--scale. The profound qualitative, one could say revolutionary, changes which are taking place in society require not only the reorganization of the social sciences but also making a number of substantial changes in the way it is treated by the other sciences and society as a whole.

Obviously, in the course of the reorganization and renovation of our life a sharp and not always open, but nonetheless uncompromising struggle is being waged among ideas, psychological concepts and styles of thinking and behaving. The old does not surrender without a fight. It finds new forms of adapting itself to the dynamics of life through a variety of scholastic contrivances. Occasionally, efforts are made to invest in the concepts of "acceleration" and "reorganization" obsolete dogmas and stereotypes, thus emasculating the novel and revolutionary nature of such concepts.

Today's processes cannot be made to fit old formulas. We must formulate new conclusions which reflect the contemporary dialectics of life. This can be accomplished only in an atmosphere of creativity. The search for the truth must go through a comparison of different viewpoints, discussions and debates, and the elimination of old stereotypes.

That is why we speak with particular emphasis of the need for daring, and initiative in promoting new ideas. That is why today the party raises so urgently the question of the "moment of truth," and of the prevalence of truth in life and science, the purpose of which is to study life and to find sober and efficient solutions to its problems. "The prime obligation of those who are seeking the 'ways to human happiness,'" Lenin emphasized, "is not to fool themselves but to find the courage to admit frankly to what is." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Completed Collected Works], vol 1, p 407).

The new way of thinking, which all of us must master, is dialectical. Dialectics, as Marx wrote, "does not bow to anyone and is, by its very nature, critical and revolutionary" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 23, p 22). This quality belongs "entirely and unquestionably" to Marxism (Lenin).

Today the social scientists must solve the problem of eliminating the existing alienation from problems of life. We vitally need a decisive turn along the entire social science front toward practical work. That is the way our party congress formulated the question. I am confident that this precisely is the way which will be followed in the proceedings of your conference.

Let me particularly emphasize that strengthening links between theory and practice is not merely a general appeal. It is the key to the reorganization of the social sciences and a principle governing the work of scientists and teachers.

Something else: practice is the basis of knowledge and a criterion of truth. We mastered this a long time ago and that is what you are teaching your students. However, is it always realized that the link between theory and practice is dialectical? We cannot separate theoretical from practical assignments. But nor should we substitute the simple recording of facts for theory. Theory must outstrip practice. It must consider phenomena more broadly, look more deeply and see "that which is hidden from our time."

Science and theory are irreplaceable also wherever the usual means of action "are not working," wherever past experience and practical cunning can no

longer provide the necessary answers, and where essentially new solutions and uncommon actions are needed.

We also need science in order to mold, formulate and cultivate the ability of young people to think independently and creatively.

Let me say bluntly and frankly that the organization and forms and methods still prevailing in the teaching of the social sciences are largely contributing to what we describe as dogmatism and scholasticism. The tendency to seek prescriptions within "basic truths," prescriptions which would be applicable to all cases in life, originate from scholasticism and from relying not on the creative work of the mind but on the thoughtless memorizing of general concepts.

As we know, Lenin counters memorizing with thinking things through. Yet it is precisely this that is frequently lacking in the teaching of the social sciences.

A paradox has developed: the most important and interesting features in contemporary scientific knowledge--man and society and the laws governing their development, contradictions, the class struggle, the building of a new world, the aspiration of mankind toward an ideal, spiritual searches and disappointments, reaching the truth and the heroism of constructive toil--frequently turn into something boring, bureaucratic and formal in lectures and textbooks.

This kills the living soul, the entire attractiveness of the emotional intellectualism of Marxism-Leninism, which is the peak, the condensation of the human mind, encompassing within itself the entire wisdom and pain, the tremendous experience of the working people and their hopes for a better future.

Today, when the party has called upon us to think and work in a new style, the education and upbringing process must be largely restructured.

It is a question, above all, of a creative approach, of the need to break down dogmatic methods in teaching the social sciences. We must rewrite the curriculums and, dear comrades, write new lectures and update textbooks.

Briefly, once again we must turn to dialectics, to its method for determining the essence of one object or phenomenon or another, and developing thoughts and knowledge through contradictions. This principle must become the base of VUZ programs and methods in teaching social sciences, from which the wind of an active life must blow. It must become basic at seminars, where we must cultivate more the ability for independent judgments and engage in scientific debates in the course of which, as we know, truth is born. A dialogue and not a monologue is a necessary element of the truly creative process of youth education and upbringing.

The Marxist-Leninist convictions of young people must become the result of profound thoughts, searches and joyful discoveries, if you wish, discoveries made by them. It is only then that convictions become inner convictions,

personally experienced and realized and, therefore, really firm, helping us to live and work.

In our crucial time the question of the importance of teaching the social sciences in molding a scientific outlook stands in its full magnitude. Are there new problems and tasks here? I believe there are.

The growth of mankind's scientific and technical power, the aggravation of global problems and the increasing threat to the existence of human civilization and life itself on earth as a result of the imperialist policy of militarism and aggression raise new conceptual problems and demand the reinterpretation of old ones.

The ability to find our way in the present difficult and conflicting yet interdependent world is not a gift of nature. Nor does it come incidentally, as we master the individual subjects. It is this skill that the future specialists must learn, for outlook means not only a sum of general information about the world. It also means an awareness of class interests and ideals, moral and legal standards, social priorities and humanistic values, all that which determines the choice of a line of human behavior in life and man's responsible attitude toward society and toward himself.

In no case should social science ignore the main task, that of shaping the spiritual foundations of the Soviet individual and his active civic stance, and determining his actions.

Scientific and technical progress has immeasurably increased the technical power of mankind. Today a particle of this power is entrusted to the engineer, the designer and the scientist. How will they handle it, will they make a proper choice whenever required by the circumstances?

This is the main question. Unquestionably, it depends on the conceptual orientation of the specialist and, therefore, to a great extent on your work, comrades.

The social science teachers have a tremendous responsibility in the training of specialists!

Your training and educational work with the students will largely determine the extent to which the future engineers, agronomists, physicians and teachers will be able to combine their knowledge on the level of the highest achievements of contemporary science and professional competence with ideological convictions, political maturity, lofty morality and social activeness.

Dear comrades!

Our time not only sets high, I would even say rigid, requirements, but also offers a truly unprecedented opportunity for the display of talent and the practical application of capabilities and talents.

Matters must be organized everywhere in such a way that people who seek, who are creative, who march in the vanguard of the reorganization can breath more freely, work more fruitfully and live better. This applies to production, science and art, to all realms of social activity.

In the course of headlong scientific and technical progress intellectual and scientific potential becomes a most important social resource, inexhaustible by virtue of its nature. The solution of the historical problems of acceleration greatly depends on the proper, the thrifty and efficient utilization of this potential. VUZ science is called upon to play a tremendous role in harnessing it.

About one half of all scientists with scientific degrees and titles work in the higher education system. However, can we say that they are making a contribution to scientific and technical and social progress consistent with present requirements? Frankly speaking, they are not! VUZ science still owes a great deal to society.

Let me remind you that the solution of the difficult, extensive and long-term programs for socioeconomic development of our society is impossible without strengthening cooperation among those who work in the social, natural and technical sciences. Excessive and extremely narrow specialization and ignorance of accomplishments in other fields of knowledge are becoming today a major hindrance in the development of science itself, including social science. As is the case with economics, in science and education we must decisively bring down departmental barriers, not only among VUZ, academic and sectorial science but also within the area of higher education itself, which has been broken up into dozens of "departments."

All such and other problems must be most daringly formulated and solved, above all with concern for the interest of the matter. At that point the reorganization of the social sciences will become faster. The social sciences will come closer to the problems of life and practical work. The teaching of the social sciences will become more fruitful and efficient.

The Central Committee is relying on you. It wishes you success in your difficult work, which is so greatly needed by society. However, one must reorganize oneself thoroughly in order to be on the level of present requirements.

We are looking optimistically at the exceptionally difficult and broad tasks which face us today: we must accomplish all of this. We cannot fail to accomplish it and we shall mandatorily accomplish it!

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SPEECH BY YE. K. LIGACHEV, MEMBER OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE POLITBURO,  
SECRETARY OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE, AT THE ALL-UNION CONFERENCE OF HEADS  
OF SOCIAL SCIENCE DEPARTMENTS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 86 (signed to press 10 Oct 86) pp 8-23

[Text]

1

Comrades:

We have just heard the speech by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary. This speech is of key significance to all of our ideological work and to the proceedings of this conference. The speech further develops the stipulations of the 27th CPSU Congress on the ideological and political upbringing of the people and upgrading the efficiency of scientific research in the field of Marxism-Leninism.

To the CPSU, concern for the purity and advancement of its theoretical arsenal is not a matter of tactics but of principle. At the time he founded our party, the great Lenin formulated the concept that there can be no revolutionary movement without revolutionary theory. This Leninist formula has always been and remains a law of CPSU activities. Today as well the tremendous work which the party and the people are doing for the radical renovation of all aspects of life in Soviet society rests on firm ideological and theoretical foundations.

The 27th Party Congress, the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the speeches by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev and other party and government leaders have equipped the party and the people with a revolutionary strategy of acceleration. This strategy is based on a firm theoretical foundation: Marxism-Leninism, which it develops and enriches. The ideas of the acceleration concept are the base of the new draft of the CPSU program. They were concretized in the Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR, and in the assignments of the 12th 5-Year Plan.

Today, when our society is engaged in solving difficult and big problems, some of which took years to develop, the theoretical elaboration of new approaches to them, defining the efficient ways and means of solving them and providing conditions for the proper implementation for the objective laws of social development assume particular significance. They increased disparity between



production relations and the level reached in production forces, and past slowdowns in the pace of our movement are largely explained precisely by the underestimated role of objective socioeconomic laws, the insufficient scientific work on a wide array of topical problems of social development, lack of recommendation of a conceptual nature and a certain alienation of theoretical cadres from practical work.

The resolutions of the 27th Congress demand of the social scientists and all ideological workers tireless efforts for the sake of the further enrichment of the party's ideological potential. The social sciences must solve a triple problem: upgrade the theoretical value of research, formulate practical recommendations and their application, and enhance the conceptual, the educational function of the social sciences. This is one of the main prerequisites for perfecting Soviet society and for its further advancement toward communism.

The reorganization of the system of higher and secondary specialized education, which is a main area of contemporary party cadre policy and a powerful factor of acceleration, a system which has entered its practical phase, sets major tasks to VUZ personnel and party organizations. In this area we must ensure the real integration among education, science and production, cooperation between VUZs and national economic sectors, and strengthen school cadres and material facilities. In the final account, this will enable us substantially to improve and update the content of education and enhance the efficiency of the entire training and education process.

A number of problems for discussion have accumulated. The innovative decisions of the 27th Congress and the spirit of Leninist truth and principle-mindedness which prevailed at the congress encourage us to engage in a serious, honest and bolshevik-style frank discussion. However, this will not be merely for the sake of talking, as has been the case in the past, but for the sake of acting, acting in order truly to advance our theoretical thinking and for the sake of the tremendous importance of the ideological-political, labor and moral upbringing of students and shaping the communist outlook of the Soviet people.

2

All party activities after the April 1985 Central Committee Plenum have marked, essentially, a firm assertion of the close ties between ideology and life and the unity between words and actions. As you know, violations of this principle were allowed to occur in the past, which resulted in serious negative phenomena in the functioning of the economy, hindered the development of the social area, worsened the moral atmosphere and caused major harm to cadre policy. Furthermore, in some areas society began to lose its previous gains.

The party's merit is that it realized the urgency of making a sharp turn in the development of the country and found the only proper way to accomplish this: acceleration and renovation. By April 1985, forces which had properly assessed the situation in the economy and the society had developed in the Central Committee--the leading party nucleus--and which formulated the idea of

the acceleration of our development, an idea which was comprehensively and profoundly developed at the 27th Party Congress.

The Communist Party led the process of the social renovation. Shortly after the formulation of the concept of acceleration, the CPSU Central Committee, the entire party, worked hard for its implementation and for the elimination of stagnation within the society. It would be no exaggeration to say that in the past such work would have taken years.

Above all, decisive steps were taken to strengthen the leadership of party, state, economic and public organizations centrally and in the local areas. This led to the development of firm cadre possibilities for the implementation of the resolutions of the 27th Congress and the course of reorganization.

A program for a profound technical reconstruction of the national economy was drafted on the basis of the extensive mastery of the latest achievements of science and technology. Intersectorial scientific and technical complexes are being set up in the priority areas of scientific and technological developments. Important steps were taken for radically upgrading the level of domestic machine building, backed by the necessary resources. At the beginning of the 1990s it will convert almost entirely to the production of commodities consistent with world standards.

A firm course toward real, not partial but total cost accounting, collective contracting and conversion of enterprises and associations to self-recovery and self-financing, has been charted. The wage system will be reorganized in the production sectors. Wage raises will be based not on state budget funds but on funds earned by the labor collectives themselves, i.e., on the basis of an essentially new principle. All of these are major steps in the development not only of the national economy but of the socialist self-governing of the people and of democratic principles in the decisive area of social life: economics.

The realm of economic incentive based on end results of economic management will be broadened and applied not only to associations and enterprises but also to territories--cities, oblasts and republics.

A procedure has been set according to which, after fulfilling their plans for the delivery of agricultural commodities to the union fund, the oblasts and republics will have the right to handle above-plan goods as they wish. A similar procedure will be introduced in light industry. Funds saved from industrial construction may be used for social projects. This puts an end to the old practice, when any attempt at using surplus goods and saved funds for local needs was mandatorily considered a manifestation of "parochialism." Let me say that today the principle of socialism "From Each According to His Capabilities and to Each According to His Work" is being asserted on the territorial level as well.

Essential changes have been made in the structure of the management of complexes of interrelated sectors. Innovative approaches have been applied in the management of agroindustrial and construction complexes. In these areas a

unified system of top-to-bottom managements, which do not duplicate each other in terms of structure or functions, has been set up.

The rights and responsibilities of the local authorities, above all of the soviets of people's deputies, for the comprehensive solution of economic and social problems and meeting population needs have been expanded significantly.

In the past the material base in the sociocultural area had substantially fallen behind the needs of life--in public education, science, health care and culture. The shortsighted aspiration of planning authorities and economic managers to solve current production problems by curtailing expenditures in the social area most frequently boomeranged against the production process itself, making it fall behind. Conversely, practical experience reliably confirmed that, in the final account, funds invested in education, science, medicine and culture stimulate economic growth and create prerequisites for the comprehensive development of the individual. To us this is the main thing. The task is to ensure during the current 5-year period the type of progress worthy of the socialist system in these areas.

With the universal support of the working people, the party engaged in a real and not simply verbal struggle against severe social ills, such as drunkenness and alcoholism. In the past amazing things took place in our country in this area: the more decisions were made on the struggle against drunkenness, the more the production of alcoholic beverages and, therefore, their consumption, increased. An end has been put to this now. Both production and consumption of alcoholic beverages have been curtailed drastically. Steps are also being taken to stop drug addiction, which has appeared in some areas.

The strengthening of the economic and moral foundations of our society is assisted also by the irreconcilable struggle mounted by the party, the state and the entire Soviet people against unearned income.

Let me particularly note the steps taken to strengthen the material base of ideological work. Plans have been drafted for updating technical facilities in domestic television and radio broadcasting, cinematography, and the printing industry. A strong impetus has been provided for the fast growth of the production of domestic video equipment this 5-year period.

Our actions in the international arena have become more dynamic and initiative-minded and, above all, much more specific. We have daringly proclaimed a moratorium on nuclear explosions and called for instituting international control over the nontesting of nuclear weapons. This has drastically improved the efficiency of our actions and drawn over on our side new allies and enhanced the reputation of our country throughout the world.

Radical changes have been earmarked in the planning and management of foreign economic relations. A decision was made, while preserving and developing the principle of state monopoly on foreign economic activities, to provide direct outlets on foreign market to associations and enterprises, by increasing firm cooperation ties with foreign partners and creating joint enterprises with them.

The June 1986 CPSU Central Committee Plenum became a major stage in the implementation of the concept of acceleration. The plenum studied the course of the party's work for the implementation of the resolutions of the 27th Congress, ratified the draft 12th 5-Year Plan and defined the tasks of the party organizations in the struggle for its implementation. The requirements formulated at the Central Committee Plenum and in Comrade M.S. Gorbachev's speeches in the Far East, Kuban and Stavropol, not to be deluded by the initial successes of the reorganization and to be well aware of the real difficulties it is encountering and to spare no efforts to eliminate them, are of great importance.

Having adopted for itself the firm rule of speaking to the people exclusively in the language of truth, the Central Committee does not conceal the great difficulties of the reorganization. Such difficulties exist in economics, politics, and ideological work. The sharp turn being made currently by Soviet society is essentially of a revolutionary nature. In order to make it we will need time, resources, the tremendous efforts of the party and the people, and the civic courage and maturity of every Soviet person. The main thing is to accept the reorganization personally and to answer the party's call with actions and high labor results.

The question is sometimes asked why should we repeatedly undertake the solution of some problems? What can we answer to this? We are advancing along an untrodden path, surmounting many difficulties, both objective and subjective. V.I. Lenin taught that "to finish, to redo, to start from the beginning, will be necessary many times. Each step we are able to take forward and upward in the development of production forces and culture must be accompanied by completing and redoing our Soviet system..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 44, p 224). It is entirely understandable that "finishing, redoing and starting over" will be necessary also whenever we come across stagnation and the inertial forces which hinder our development.

The only conclusion which we can draw from Lenin's instruction is the following: do not avoid crucial problems; again and again undertake their solution until the initiated project has been completed. It is precisely thus that our party is acting.

All aspects of our life have undergone substantial changes after the April plenum and the 27th Party Congress. More light has come in, more openness and democracy; discipline has strengthened. More energy and purposefulness have been displayed in our activities. The party takes closely into consideration broad public opinion in the solution of important economic and political problems. This is having a positive influence on the mood of the people and on the entire political and moral atmosphere of the society. This is confirmed by the broad scope of the socialist competition for the successful implementation of the 12th 5-Year Plan. The results of the first 9 months are currently being summed up. The preliminary data indicate that economic growth rates are outstripping planned assignments. This leads us to hope that this year we will lay a firm foundation for the 12th 5-Year Plan as a whole.

Briefly, the 27th Party Congress is working; its ideas are gathering strength and are steadily materializing in the practical implementation of its resolutions. The process of reorganization which has been initiated in the country is irreversible and the movement of the masses, which developed for its implementation, is unstoppable.

3

Marxism-Leninism, as a unified revolutionary theory, is the inviolable ideological foundation of the changes which are taking place in Soviet society. The tremendous transforming power of this theory resides in its ability for steady renovation and the scientifically objective nature of the laws of social development it discovered. Marxism-Leninism arms us with a reliable method and an impeccable tool for the study of nature, society and thinking.

Our party and its theoretical cadres have accomplished a great deal in developing the theory and practice of building the new society. The 27th CPSU Congress provided a brilliant example for the application of dialectical materialism in the study of contemporary reality. The congress displayed a revolutionary critical approach to and intolerance of anything that is obsolete, any pseudoscientific junk and idle talk or prejudice. At the same time, it formulated broad and daring solutions for the problems it considered and opened new approaches to a number of problems which I consider classical in terms of Marxist-Leninist theory. It formulated essentially new theoretical-political conclusions.

The congress developed the theory of the establishment of the communist system and led us forward in understanding the laws governing the perfecting of socialism. It brought to light new aspects in the dialectics of objective and subjective conditions and of the role of the human factor in this process. After the congress our concepts on the interaction between production forces and production relations and on the methods for promptly identifying and solving nonantagonistic contradictions in this area became deeper and richer. Strategic conclusions were drawn on the increased role of the social sphere, the broadening of democracy and the further democratization of all realms of social life, ways of developing socialist self-government by the people and the enhanced activities of political and ideological institutions. The importance of criticism and self-criticism and openness as standards in the life and development of socialist society and the party's style and work method, and the tasks of strengthening ties with the masses were extensively revived.

The comprehensive study of the situation in the contemporary world was a major achievement of social thinking. The congress substantiated the need for a new style of political thinking in the nuclear-space age; it brought to light the dialectics of the competition between the two systems and the growing interdependence within the global community; it drafted a program for the formulation of a comprehensive system of international security and provided a clear answer to the most crucial problem of our time, that of war and peace.

The most important conclusions of the 27th Congress were summed up in an integral concept of the accelerated socioeconomic development of our country, which will determine future party activities for a historically lengthy period. It synthesizes the profound theoretical elaborations covering essentially all aspects of our social activities.

The congress emphasized that the advancement of socialism is the more successful the more active becomes the role of Marxist-Leninist theory in the interpretation of live practical experience. In this connection, upgrading the quality of social studies becomes even more important.

Our conference should approach with a feeling of particular responsibility the conclusion included in the Central Committee political report on a certain remoteness of our philosophy, economics and all other social sciences from problems of reality.

Naturally, this does not mean denying the achievements in philosophy, political economy and history. Nevertheless, the situation in the social sciences as a whole is totally inconsistent with the requirements of the present. The boring rehashing of elementary truths, fear of the new and dogmatism have become, unfortunately, extensively widespread in the social sciences. Group prejudices, and an atmosphere of reciprocal praise and bragging frequently blossom in scientific collectives; the ability critically to evaluate one's own place in science has been lost. Occasionally, efforts are made to reduce the reorganization process to appeals and to outbursts of political chattering.

When we speak of shortcomings in the social sciences, we frequently reduce everything to the state of affairs in political economy. Yes, problems do exist here which require profound scientific studies, such as socialist ownership and the economic forms through which it is realized, the use of commodity-monetary relations in the new economic mechanism, democratic centralism, as the fundamental principle of management, socialist economic integration and the scientific and technical revolution. However, as V.I. Lenin pointed out, "Although based on economics, socialism is by no means entirely reduced to it" (op cit., vol 30, p 22). By the same token, the social sciences cannot be reduced in the least to political economy.

Today the development of philosophy is encountering quite complex and difficult problems. This is a great science which, through the efforts of some scientists, has become most remote from our world. We have few accessible and interesting works on philosophy which could trigger a broad social response. There are few profound works on an extensive set of problems of the scientific and technical revolution. The theory and practice of sociological studies have fallen substantially behind the needs of the present.

The situation with the development of the theory of scientific communism is no better. By its very nature, this science should project life and the passion of the struggle; it should illuminate with its ideas the most advanced positions in building communism. Instead, here as well we frequently see that same old timidity of thought and absence of civic courage without which no



true scientist can exist, and unwillingness to undertake the study of the acute problems of development of Soviet society. Who if not specialists in the theory of scientific communism should try to be the first to interpret the contemporary meaning of the concepts of social justice, social self-government and the nature of changes in the social structure of Soviet society, to determine the reasons for manifestations of petit bourgeois mentality and draw the attention of society to the tremendous social danger of drunkenness, alcoholism and drug addiction?

Naturally, the stagnation which had developed in the past in some areas of social life has adversely affected the development of social thought. However, this does not eliminate in the least the responsibility of the USSR Ministry of Education and the Academy of Sciences for the unsatisfactory state of affairs in the social sciences.

We can justifiably ascribe a great deal of responsibility for the lagging on the philosophical front to the USSR Academy of Sciences Department of Philosophy and Law and to the leading university philosophy faculties. Naturally, this applies above all to the philosophy faculty of Moscow State University. At one point this was a major and prestigious center of philosophical thinking. Currently it has surrendered its positions and is rather inactive in the intellectual life of society. A great deal more in terms of science and the training of sociological cadres should be legitimately expected by society from the philosophy departments of Leningrad, Kiev and Rostov state universities.

The current condition of historical-research is a cause for serious concern. The depersonalization of a number of historical events and the periodical rewriting of history are adversely affecting the state of affairs in that science. Frequently, the history of Lenin's party and its outstanding leaders and millions of communists who dedicated their lives to the struggle for the nobles of ideals turns into a dry narrative. Many books and articles on historical subjects are written in an inexpressive style, for which reason they have no wide audience. Establishments and organizations responsible for the development of this branch of knowledge, the Institute of Marxism-Leninism above all, should identify the problems which have accumulated in this area and solve them.

Generally speaking, a great deal of work lies ahead. Priority in social studies should be given to the creation of an overall concept of the management of socialist society and the all-round study of socialism as a system. The time has come to concentrate on the study of man as the bearer of social relations and as the highest value of socialist society. The study of the reasons for the durability of negative phenomena is a major topic. Let us consider bureaucratism, for example. We have fought it hard yet it lives and, in a number of areas, even flourishes. Generally speaking it is clear that its sources are found in the imperfect nature of social relations. However, we must as yet determine what today specifically feeds administrative arbitrariness and paper shuffling and what creates a mentality of irresponsibility and arrogance. To explain this only in terms of vestiges of the past or the influence of forces hostile to socialism means to take the easy way out and to avoid an honest and objective analysis.

One of the most important tasks in Soviet social science is the struggle against bourgeois ideology and reactionary philosophical and political theories. Imperialist propaganda is trying to prove that the vital forces of Soviet society are drying out and that the reorganization initiated by the party is doomed to failure. That is why we must bring to light in our ideological work, more fully and convincingly, the tremendous advantages and opportunities of our system and its practical accomplishments. It is important clearly to see the true meaning of the aspirations of the ideological enemy and to act against him aggressively, decisively, with the weapon of truth.

In order to ensure the success of social science research, it is extremely necessary to develop within social science collectives something I would describe as a zone of high mental stress and quest. Normally conducted creative discussions are the proper way to accomplish this. They must become an efficient method for increasing scientific knowledge. High standards of debates are incompatible with labeling and accusations of imaginary retreats from socialism. All of these are methods which have nothing in common with true science, true creativity and true Marxism-Leninism. "...We must master the unquestionable truth," V.I. Lenin wrote, "that the Marxists must take into consideration real life and the accurate facts of reality, rather than go on clinging to yesterday's theory..." (op cit., vol 31, p 134). It is precisely in the same manner that today the party stance of the scientist is determined not by his ability to adapt himself to views which have endured but scientifically to substantiate the changes which have taken place in society and by his resolve truly to help strengthen socialism.

The lack of a reliable mechanism for planning and coordination is holding back the development of research. Conducting research ordered by party, soviet and economic authorities, which was recommended in the CPSU Central Committee decree on the Institute of Economics, has still not become properly widespread. Science remains somewhat "not in demand." In this area as well scientific and practical workers must find a common language faster.

Social scientists frequently raise the question of having broader access to statistical and archival data. I believe that the Central Statistical Administration, USSR Glavarkhiv and other organizations involved in such matters should thoroughly review the question and find a proper solution.

Let me also mention the views held by our publishing workers. It is no secret that sometimes they are not all that willing to accept daring problem-raising works for publication. They would rather not take the risk. We will not go far with such practices in publishing. That is why changes are needed here as well, in order to open the way to works which are original, fresh and close to life. Anything aimed at strengthening the positions of socialism and the utilization of its advantages should see the light.

Briefly, the reorganization of the social sciences in accordance with the spirit and the letter of the 27th CPSU Congress, is a complex and many-faceted problem. However, it must be solved without delay. The necessary political and ideological prerequisites to this effect are available. "...We should also not allow," Comrade M.A. Gorbachev notes, "for obsolete dogmas to dim our



eyes, to prevent us from advancing and from creatively developing theory and applying it in practice at the specific historical stage in which our society finds itself."

4.

The major tasks formulated by the party cannot be implemented without a major reorganization of the country's system of higher and secondary specialized education.

The successes of the higher school in building a new life are universally known. Of late, however, stagnation has increased in it and the gross-output approach has become dominant in the training of specialists. The influx of capable young people in faculties has slowed down. This situation is unacceptable to the country. It has become intolerable to the VUZ personnel themselves.

The CPSU Central Committee draft "Basic Directions in the Reorganization of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education in the Country" was discussed not only by VUZ collectives but virtually everywhere. A large number of suggestions and additions to the text were received by the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Ministry of Education and the editors of the central press. A considerable number of them were taken into consideration in completing the draft. We can say, therefore, that the basic party document on the reorganization of higher schools embodies the collective reasoning, practical experience and hopes of millions of Soviet people.

The main objective of the initiated reorganization is to ensure a radical increase in the efficiency of training and retraining and upgrading the skills of specialists, closely related to improving their use in the national economy.

What features must be developed in the personality of the student in order to mold him into a modern Soviet specialist? Above all, infinite loyalty to the cause of the party and the people, a clear understanding of the meaning of the changes occurring in the society and of his role in their implementation. The modern specialist is, naturally, a true professional, an able production organizer who can make independent decisions and carry them out.

It is exceptionally important to develop in the future specialist a feeling of patriotic pride in the progress of Soviet science and technology and the high reputation of Soviet products.

Mikhail Vasilyevich Lomonosov, our great scientist, said the following: "The honor of the Russian people demands that we prove their ability and sharpness in the sciences and that our fatherland can make use of its own sons not only in terms of military valor and other most important matters but in high knowledge as well."

Since the time when this was said, the world has repeatedly seen that the peoples of our country are not short of outstanding scientists, engineers and inventors. The names of the great physiologist Pavlov, of Popov, the inventor

of the radio, of Zhukovskiy, the founder of contemporary aerodynamics, Tsiolkovskiy, the father of cosmonautics, and Mendeleyev, the creator of the Periodical Table of Elements, are transmitted from generation to generation. The names of our contemporaries Kurchatov, Korolev, Keldysh, Semenov, Tupolev and many others, who enriched mankind with their innovative actions and who, today, proved to the world their "ability and sharpness in science," are covered with glory.

This makes us even more concerned with the loss in recent times on the part of some of our scientists, engineers, designers and specialists, of the feeling of professional pride and the desire to achieve everything through their own efforts. The infection of "imported purchase" has become widespread, as though no other means remains in nature for ensuring technical progress.

Naturally, we are far from the thought of alienating ourselves from the world around us. Nevertheless, state wisdom and concern for the long-term interest of the country caution us against a thoughtless passion for imports. In this complex and contradictory world, full of struggle, our country has stood and is today standing firmly on its own two feet. This is a great accomplishment of Soviet science, technology, industry and cadres. They must be treasured and, starting with the VUZ, the future specialist must develop the thirst to move science and technology ahead, to achieve the production of domestic items superior to foreign models in every respect.

It is also extremely important to develop the most favorable atmosphere for students who are successful in their training. Today the press and public opinion totally concentrate on the student who is socially aware, who actively participates in amateur artistic activities and in sports. Yet few people are interested in how such students are learning. In some VUZs a third or even more students have passing grades. This is considered natural. Such an attitude can and must be overcome. The cult of study, the cult of serious, I would say dedicated, work on reaching the truth and acquiring new knowledge must prevail in our universities and institutes. This is the prime duty and the most important obligation of the student.

The purpose of the higher school is to educate the future specialists in a spirit of collectivism and comradeship and decisively to uproot all manifestations of individualism, careerism and indifference among the students. We must actively oppose the penetration of hack work, mediocrity and bias which products of Western so-called mass culture bring with themselves in student collectives. The healthy aesthetic tastes of Soviet youth must be shaped more efficiently and persistently.

Under contemporary conditions raising the young people in the spirit of the history and the great traditions of the party and the people assumes tremendous importance. All of us are witnessing an increased interest in the past and its lessons, shown by literally all population strata. This is one of the manifestations of the new upsurge in the patriotic feelings of the Soviet people and their desire to establish a continuing link with the past and the sources of the progressive popular traditions which to this day are contributing their vivifying force to our society. It is important, however, for the interpretation of the past to be based on clear conceptual positions.

The party comprehensively supports and energizes efforts of carefully and lovingly protecting areas related to major events in CPSU and Soviet history and the restoration of the country's monuments. The Central Committee passed special resolutions on the development of the Gorki Leninskiye Home-Museum of V.I. Lenin, Yasnaya Polyana, the L.N. Tolstoy Museum-Garden and the Pereslavl-Zalesskiy Historical Complex. Problems of preserving the literary legacy have been considered. The practice of unjustifiably renaming streets, squares and cities has been stopped. The specific steps taken by the party confirm its firm intention to do everything necessary to protect the wealth of our age-old multinational culture and to enhance the role of historical awareness in the spiritual life of society. University and secondary schools students must become involved in this major project, thus becoming exposed to the great and permanent spiritual values of our people.

Today we must also mention the need to improve the atheistic upbringing of young people, of university students. Occasionally, some people who come across violations of the standards of socialist morality begin to consider the expediency of being tolerant toward religious ideas and a return to religious morality. They forget the elementary Marxist truth that religion is by no means the source of moral principles in man. It is not religion which gave the people their moral standards, which have now become universal. Such standards were formulated and consolidated by the people's masses in the course of the age-old struggle against the oppression and domination of the rich, and against the immorality and cruelty of the exploiting society. Communist morality has significantly enriched the content of human standards. That is why we have no reason whatsoever to narrow our moral concepts and to push them back, to the past. Yet, this precisely is what some of today's supporters of religious mysticism and contemporary God-search are demanding.

A scientific-materialistic and scientific-atheistic outlook has long become established in the minds of the majority of the Soviet people, under the conditions of the freedom of conscience which prevails in our society. This does not suit our ideological opponents in the West. They are hurling heaps of slanders at the Soviet system, claiming that the USSR is suppressing the freedom of religion and is persecuting believers. Some state leaders in the capitalist countries have allowed themselves to be dragged into such unseemly petty intrigues. All of these are lies, however. In our country both believers and nonbelievers enjoy equal and extensive constitutional rights.

While supporting the strict observance of the guarantee of freedom of conscience, the party condemns efforts to use religion to the detriment of the interests of society and the individual. Yet we do come across such efforts. Occasionally, bourgeois nationalism puts on a religious garb. This can be clearly seen, for example, in the activities of the reactionary part of the Muslim, Uniate and Roman Catholic clergy.

We must continue to seek new approaches and new ways and means of atheistic propaganda and work with believers. The VUZ social scientists can and must play a great role in solving all such problems. It is important to strengthen the conceptual trend in teaching. Incidentally, today a number of universities and educational institutes are planning the opening of departments of scientific atheism.

The reorganization of the higher and secondary specialized schools offers extensive opportunities for the successful enhancement of their ideological and educational functions. The reorganizations which are taking place and all our efforts must be subordinated to molding in the future specialist a firm communist outlook, high ideological and moral qualities and readiness and ability to act as is dictated by our time and demanded by the party.

5.

The reorganization of the higher schools most directly affects the departments of social sciences, which have a great potential. More than 39,000 professors and instructors are engaged in educational, scientific and pedagogical work in these departments; more than 62 percent of them have scientific degrees and titles.

Talks were held in the course of the preparations for the present conference with a large group of heads of departments, rectors and secretaries of central committees of communist parties of union republics and party obkoms. A number of suggestions and remarks related to the teaching of social sciences in the VUZs were submitted in the course of the meetings. Some of them have already been considered. In particular, the frequency publication of journals in the philosophical and economic sciences and scientific communism has been increased. Many problems will be solved through the decrees of the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers on the reform of the higher schools.

How and in what area should the social science departments reorganize their work? As a whole, the VUZs have developed a system for the study of the social sciences, which should not be abandoned. The reorganization means, above all, radically upgrading the quality of teaching and its efficiency.

In order to achieve this we must, first of all, decisively bring teaching closer to practical work and eliminate from lectures and seminars simplistic concepts of socialism. We can no longer tolerate a situation in which one thing is being said in the lectures while the student sees something entirely different in real life. We must open the gates of VUZ auditoriums to life; each class must become a course in Marxist-Leninist analysis of topical contemporary problems.

Let us frankly tell each other that the main trouble is that there is a scarcity of Leninist truth in the teaching of the social sciences. Naturally, there are problems with curriculum, textbooks and methods. Essentially, however, everything rests on the scarcity of total truth. Whenever the teacher avoids the sensitive problems and contradictions of social life and glides on their surface, he does not educate the students but teaches them how to pass a test.

Sometimes the truth is conceived rather oddly. It is reduced primarily to discussions concerning negative phenomena. If this is our understanding of the truth, we would remove ourselves from it as much as we do when we conceal shortcomings. Dialectics teaches us that each phenomenon should be considered in its entirety, in its positive and negative aspects. Above all, we must see

the constructive Leninist truth which presumes not discussions of shortcomings but an active struggle against them.

A crucial aspect of the reorganization is that of upgrading the ideological-theoretical and training-methodical level of teaching. The major shortcomings in teaching have been essentially discussed at all previous all-union conferences of social scientists. Nevertheless, once again we must face them today. We are particularly concerned with the fact that frequently our VUZ graduates have no integral idea of Marxist-Leninist theory. It is extremely important, therefore, in the course of the reorganization, to eliminate the great differentiation in the teaching of social sciences and to remove interdisciplinary barriers. Our conference must discuss new programs for the social sciences. They must ensure the mastery of Marxist-Leninist theory, encompassing all of its components and the latest achievements in the social sciences and lead toward the profound study of prime sources and topical problems of social development. We must also see to it that a state examination in Marxism-Leninism become an efficient measure for ensuring the integrity of the study of social sciences by the students.

Drafting new textbooks is a major problem. Probably all of us agree that the current textbooks have served their purpose. A competition is underway today for the creation of VUZ textbooks on philosophy, political economy and scientific communism. A competition for a textbook on the history of the CPSU is planned. The new textbooks must be fully consistent with contemporary requirements and meet the tasks of the reorganization in the teaching of the social sciences.

We must abandon our predilection for teaching the social sciences through the "question and answer" method, which assigns the student a passive role. According to information provided by the Sverdlovsk CPSU Obkom, more than one half of all surveyed students in the city VUZs said that they are unable to engage in substantiated arguments and debates on political problems, for in the course of their VUZ training they are not taught the skills of defending the ideological values, views of socialist society and views and convictions. This is the result of the formal attitude toward the organization of the training process. Social science studies must be combined with the frank discussion of events which are of interest to society and young people. It is sometimes more interesting to discuss an article in a journal or meet with an interesting and thinking person than to look for calendar dates in a textbook or to copy summaries from one another. Naturally, this makes teaching more difficult but the benefit of such teaching is immeasurably greater.

It is important to be familiar with the moods of the students and the problems which excite them. Let me draw your attention to the practice of studying the political interests of the students and to take them into consideration in teaching social sciences at Gorkiy University.

Third, the reorganization means comprehensive enhancement of activities of scientific research by the departments. It is self-evident that the training and education of the students is more efficient in departments engaged in serious research. The scientific work of the teacher is a prerequisite for his professional growth and for the high quality of the educational process.

This is also of great importance to the country, for 80 percent of all of our social scientists are in VUZ departments. However, they produce little. There is a great dispersal of efforts and petty topics are blossoming. In Kazakhstan, for example, 203 social science departments are working on 360 scientific topics. How can one speak of any kind of serious and comprehensive study in this case?

We must introduce target planning more energetically in the scientific work of the departments. The RSFSR Ministry of Education has acquired proper experience in this matter, which should be more daringly disseminated. It would be expedient to make better use of the unique opportunities of the VUZ scientific sector, for it is only in the VUZs that people in the social, humanity, natural and technical sciences work side-by-side. Their joint efforts create conditions favorable in solving complex and difficult problems.

We must eliminate literally anything which hinders VUZ science and provide scope for its development. This, precisely, will constitute a real reorganization. In the course of our meeting with the heads of departments of social sciences of VUZs in Voronezh, Rakhmanin Valentin Sidorovich, head of the department of scientific communism at Voronezh State University, reported that in 1 year he had submitted a large number of all kinds of reports which, put together, would be the equivalent of a thick monograph.

Unless we eliminate all hindrances and clear all the obstructions in the VUZs, consisting of far-fetched instructions, orders and recommendations, no improvement whatsoever can take place in educational and scientific research work. This applies above all to the union Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, whose apparatus is one of the main creators of this paper soup and bureaucratic turning in circles. These are the people who must be truly shaken up. The ministry's collegium and its party committee must take action in this matter.

The most important part of the reorganization of social science departments in VUZs is the efficient utilization of the results of scientific research in social practice. Today a number of ideas found in scientific works remain virtually unused and are simply filed away. Their implementation requires a system and it is above all the VUZ teaches themselves and the respective central and local management authorities who must undertake its formulation.

As a whole, the reorganization of the work of social science departments is a creative matter which affects every teacher and the party organization of each department. It demands of them to abandon reinsurance and inertia and, above all, to show a profound understanding of the nature of the contemporary age and the aspiration to assume greater responsibility in shaping the Marxist-Leninist outlook of the students.

## 6.

Success in the reorganization of the higher school and in the work of social science departments depends to a decisive extent on the quality of the party's leadership of such processes. The VUZ party organizations today number more than 375,000 party members, some 112,000 of whom are students. This is a



major force. A party leadership system for the social science departments has been established in the Ukraine and Belorussia, and Leningrad, Novosibirsk, Chelyabinsk and other oblasts. The party committees certify the teachers in the social sciences. Regional conferences of department heads are held frequently. In a number of cases efficient work is being done through scientific-method seminars, which have proven to be a useful means of party leadership. Unified party organizations and councils of social science departments are being set up with a view to increasing the party's influence and coordinating the work.

As a whole, however, the level of party leadership in the VUZs and, particularly, in the social science departments, must be firmly enhanced. Not everything here is as it should be and not all party committees realize the great importance of such work. Problems of the Marxist-Leninist training of the students and of VUZ activities have not been discussed for a long time by the obkoms of such major VUZ centers as Tashkent, Tbilisi, Frunze, Volgograd, Rostov and Saratov. The party committees must always keep in sight the VUZs and, particularly, the social science departments.

The selection, placement and upbringing of faculty cadres is a key link in party leadership. The intellectual, ideological, political and moral qualities of the teacher are of decisive importance to the entire training and education process. The teacher in the Soviet higher school is a highly educated person with high professional training. He is somebody. He is a spiritually rich and purposeful personality who draws to himself the young people through the force of his convictions and the examples he sets. All of us remember A.S. Pushkin's noteworthy words about his teacher: "He made us," the poet said. "He directed our flame...." Our students as well should have more teachers they will remember forever.

Teachers must meet with students more frequently, not only when they are on duty or when they make their rounds. Not enough such meetings take place. Frequently VUZ teachers act as the students' guardians. "Consequently, we keep speaking of developing the students as socially active personalities, whereas in fact we do everything possible to ensure their socially passive attitude.... Teachers stand on watch in the school building and at student evenings," wrote V. Maksakovskiy, head of department at the MGPI in UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA. "Odd things happen," writes A. Lukoshkin, rector of the Leningrad Aviation Instrument-Making Institute, in pursuing the same thought in IZVESTIYA. "Teachers and scientific associates write the speeches which their pupils deliver at student conferences."

We must firmly stop being the students' guardians. We must trust them more and grant them extensive possibilities of solving problems independently.

Our leading cadres, party obkom and gorkom secretaries, ministers and other party, economic and soviet workers, must participate more extensively and actively in the education of the student youth. No time should be spared on this, for it is a question for our country's future, of the people who will head the labor collectives and through whom we shall implement party policy and Marxist-Leninist ideology.

At the present time a number of problems which must be solved have accumulated in molding the corps of VUZ social scientists. The Central Committee resolution on the further improvement of the system for upgrading the skill of teachers has not been implemented in full. Other problems exist as well. Currently, for example, about 5,000 social science teachers have no basic university training. Furthermore, throughout the country only one half of university graduates in the social sciences have the opportunity to work in their field. We must improve the practice of the selection of students for social science departments. The party authorities and the heads of ministries, departments, rectorates and VUZ party committees must energetically deal with all these problems.

The CPSU Central Committee has proof that VUZ teachers only rarely receive from the local authorities socioeconomic information on local life. Throughout the entire past 5-year period only one meeting between social science teachers and CPSU Central Committee secretaries was held in Moscow. With good reason the teachers consider this a lack of understanding of their role in society and the unwillingness of the local authorities to make public data on the true state of affairs.

The party organizations must pay particular attention to the development of criticism and self-criticism and openness in VUZs and in faculty circles. Here this process is clearly being obstructed. That is why there are frequent manifestations of secrecy and cliquishness in VUZ collectives. There are squabbles and anonymous denunciations. Last year, for example, the party and state authorities received some 200 letters, one-third of which anonymous, from the All-Union Correspondence Financial-Economics Institute alone. Does this do credit to the institute's scientists and its party organization?

Naturally, we cannot agree with those who try to suppress criticism and who say "enough criticism." What do they mean by enough? Criticism is a means of advancing our entire work. To a large extent it is also the measure of this progress. However, we must most firmly rebuff those who try to use the spirit of the 27th Congress and the development of criticism in our society for purposes of demagoguery and in pursuit of their selfish purposes. Criticism must always be followed by constructive action.

As was stated at the 27th Party Congress, no single organization or manager should remain outside the pale of control or criticism. The results of violations of this principle are indicated by the example of the Institute of International Relations and the Diplomatic Academy. The practice of solving problems within a narrow circle and nepotism in the selection of cadres, cultivation of toadiness and unprincipled-mindedness and unwillingness to listen to the healthy voice of the collective have all led to the appearance of major negative phenomena at the MGIMO and the academy, and to the fact that, in the final account, the party members at the institute and the academy expressed lack of confidence in their leaders and expelled the institute's rector from the party.

Enhancing the work of the primary party organizations in VUZs is of prime importance in improving the party's leadership of the higher school. Without this we cannot solve the problems of the reorganization and improve the



teaching of the social sciences. It is precisely the primary party organizations which must keep under their supervision the entire course of the reorganization, ensure the broadening of the democratic and self-governing principles in the life of VUZ collectives, enhance the role of Komsomol and trade union organizations and improve the Marxist-Leninist training of all VUZ science teachers and enhance in this connection the role of social science departments.

To conclude:

The Soviet higher school is on the threshold of profound changes. This school year is the first year in the practical implementation of the higher school reform. The drafting of the corresponding CPSU Central Committee and government decrees is nearing its end. They pertain to problems of radically improving the quality of the training of specialists and their utilization in the national economy, intensifying the role of VUZ science, perfecting the training and certification of science teachers, improving the material and housing and living conditions of students, graduate students and instructors, and raising the wages of instructors and other higher school personnel. The role of ministries, departments, associations and enterprises in strengthening the material and technical facilities of VUZs and technical schools is being enhanced.

The state has allocated substantial funds to meet the needs of the higher schools. However, it would be erroneous to structure the entire work exclusively on this basis. The higher school already has a tremendous material and technical potential which, however, is being insufficiently used. In the past 5-year period 14 percent of the overall amount of capital investments allocated by the state to union and republic ministries of higher education remained unused. The protracted building of VUZ projects has become typical in most parts of the country. This is a reflection of the attitude toward the development of material facilities in the sociocultural sphere considered secondary, an attitude which was condemned by the 27th CPSU Congress.

Generally speaking, the reorganization of the higher school must begin with bringing total order in what we already have and with the strict implementation of governmental plans and assignments. The party has made it incumbent upon us to make a radical change in the activities of the higher schools. We have everything we need for this purpose: a clear program for action, party, Komsomol and trade union organizations in VUZs, highly skilled faculty and a steadily expanding material and technical base.

To the social scientists the new school year is the first year for the profound study of the materials of the 27th CPSU Congress by students and secondary school youth and faculty. "The indomitable stream of history is already rushing towards the shoal separating the second from the third millennium," Comrade M.S. Gorbachev said in concluding his speech at the party congress. "What lies beyond it? We shall not engage in prophesies. We know, however, that the plans we are formulating today are not ordinary but daring and that our daily activities are imbued with the enthusiasm of socialist morality and justice."

No task is more important than that of bringing to our country's young generation the entire wealth of ideas and broad targets included in the congress' documents. It is important convincingly to bring to light the crucial and profoundly innovative nature of the decisions adopted at the congress and their organic link with the basic Marxist-Leninist principles governing the activities of our party and their tremendous historical importance in attaining the communist prospects of social development. The dissemination, study and implementation of the ideas of the congress are today the most important objectives of VUZ social scientists, to which every teacher-social scientist must dedicate his entire educational talent and knowledge and strength.

Briefly, let us now get to work--to specific, persistent and daily work.

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## PATH OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

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[Text] Sixty-nine years ago, responding to the appeal of the bolshevik party and under its leadership, the Russian working class rose to a decisive battle against the power of capitalism. The victory of the proletarian revolution marked the beginning of an irreversible process in the history of civilization: that of replacing capitalism with a new, a communist socioeconomic system.

Celebrating the anniversary of the Great October Revolution is an established tradition of all progressive mankind. The Soviet people celebrate it as the greatest and most significant event, remembering the Leninist behest that the best method of celebrating the anniversary of the revolution is to concentrate on the vital problems of the present, on what remains to be done. "Such a celebration of the revolution is particularly apt and necessary," V.I. Lenin emphasized, "when basic problems as yet unsolved by the revolution exist, and when something new must be mastered (from the viewpoint of what the revolution has accomplished so far) in solving them" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 44, p 221).

Lenin's words are particularly meaningful today: we find ourselves precisely at the type of crucial point of which Ilich spoke. We have indeed something new which must be mastered, realized and implemented in order to solve the main task set by life itself and by the logic of development of socialist society: to powerfully accelerate the work initiated by the Bolshevik Party almost 70 years ago. The best method to celebrate this noted anniversary is to concentrate on how to do our political, economic and organizational-educational work in order successfully to implement the general line formulated at the 27th Party Congress, firmly to surmount the trends which are restraining our progress, give economic processes the necessary dynamism and fill the efforts to accelerate the country's socioeconomic development with a specific and substantive content.

All the new features which must be mastered and all that was started with the April 1985 Central Committee Plenum and was comprehensively developed at the 27th CPSU Congress is related to the reorganization. This is a true revolution in terms of the depth and nature of changes which are taking place and of the fact that it encompasses literally all areas of social life.

Essentially, the reorganization is a change in the minds and hearts of the people, in their mentality and in their understanding of the contemporary age. The reorganization affects all level of management and of political and state leadership and each production collective. It presumes the creation of the type of social atmosphere in which inertia and indifference or anything which is inconsistent in our work and life with the ideals of the Great October Revolution, the principles of scientific socialism and our concepts and way of life have no place. Today the best way of celebrating the anniversary of the October Revolution is to concentrate on the decisive renovation of obsolete social forms and asserting the new work style and method, making them entirely consistent with changed circumstances. "We consider it important," M.S. Gorbachev emphasized at his meeting with the party aktiv of Krasnodar Kray on 18 September 1986, "for the reorganization to become irreversible and to bring into motion the tremendous forces contained within our socialist system."

"On the day we celebrate the anniversary of the revolution," Lenin said, "we must look back at the distance it has covered" (op cit., vol 37, p 137). However, in addressing ourselves to history, we must shift the center of gravity "not only to describing that which we experienced but to the experience we are acquiring and must acquire for the sake of our immediate practical activities" (op cit., vol 39, p 342).

One of the important things learned from the experience of the October Revolution and of building socialism is that it is only on the basis of the profound theoretical elaboration of the new problem formulated by life and the comprehensive study of the alternating stages in our progress that the party can properly find its way in a given situation and correspondingly formulate an accurate strategy and tactics. In solving current problems and defining the ways into the future, this experience teaches us, we must accurately know the stage of development reached by society and the extent to which the masses are ready to implement plans; we must take into consideration the totality of internal and external factors. In mastering new heights today, the party strives toward total theoretical clarity in its understanding and evaluation of contemporary social processes and the laws and contradictions which characterize them; it leads and stimulates scientific quests oriented toward the future. It is a question of an initiative-minded formulation of problems stemming from life and their profound and comprehensive study, accuracy of information and the testing and efficiency of social and economic forecasts and recommendations. A sober analysis of the facts, guided by the objective logic of life, rather than by far-fetched dogmas and stereotypes, and facing the variety of life are the basic requirements of the party, as expressed in the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the 27th Party Congress and the June 1986 Central Committee Plenum. These features are found in all parts of the new draft of the party program which was adopted at the 27th CPSU Congress. They are also reflected in the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Journal KOMMUNIST."

In solving most complex political problems, the October Revolution cleared the way for the radical socioeconomic transformation of society. For the first time in history, 69 years ago a state appeared which made managing the national economy and enhancing the well-being of the working people the most important aspects of its activities. To Lenin and the Bolshevik Party it was

entirely clear that socialism can win only as a result of the total, the radical reorganization of the economy inherited from the old system. This problem was solved successfully: within a short historical time, after surmounting incredible difficulties, the country advanced from age-old backwardness to significant heights of technical and economic progress. Twice we had to start from the basic "prewar" level: the first time, from the level of 1913, and the second, of 1940. It was precisely during the periods of restoration that the advantages of the socialist economic system, multiplied by the heroic toil of the Soviet people, were manifested with particular clarity.

While giving suitable credit to "what the revolution has accomplished so far," the party analyzed in a strict and critical Leninist manner certain adverse trends in the country's economic development, which appeared in the 1970s and beginning of 1980s, and which were largely related to the fact that changes in the economic situation and the need for profound changes in all realms of life had not been noted promptly and suitably; the necessary persistence in their implementation had not been displayed. Having firmly charted a course toward the acceleration of socioeconomic development, the 27th CPSU Congress called for a new reconstruction of the national economy on the basis of scientific and technical progress and a conversion to higher organization and efficiency of the economy with comprehensively developed production forces and mature production relations. The congress called for ensuring the conversion of the economy to the track of intensification and for creating by the end of the century a production potential on a scale matching all previous accomplishments of the Soviet system.

The reorganization of the economy and the perfecting of management require the further development of economic theory, the study of the dialectics of production forces and production relations, the search for the best possible combination of centralism with autonomy and the consideration of Lenin's idea of cooperation and tax-in-kind as applicable to contemporary conditions. The truly scientific elaboration of these and other problems of economic theory and politics is possible only on the basis of the summation of economic practice. This was the precise approach taken by Lenin in the study of the long-term problems of economic construction during the first post-October years.

Solving practical problems means concentrating the attention on the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the comprehensive application of the latest technology, a radical reform in the economic mechanism, perfecting economic management methods and using the most efficient economic levers and incentives. "We have a great deal of work ahead of us...", the Central Committee political report to the 27th Party Congress emphasized. "We must withstand this trial and involve in production all economic reserves and strengthen the foundations for further change."

In addition to the formulation and solution of new long-term problems of economic development, the party draws attention to problems which, by virtue of various reasons, remained unsolved in the past. It is a question, above all, of improving food supplies. During the 12th 5-year period the growth rates of agricultural output will more than double; significant increases will

be made in per capita consumption of meat, milk, vegetables and fruits. To this effect, we must enhance the efficiency of the utilization of the production potential in the agroindustrial complex, and concentrate our efforts and means on the most important sectors which yield the highest returns.

The possibility of implementing such changes is based on the tremendous opportunities of socialism and, above all, on the creative potential of the toiling masses. "...What made our revolution different from all previous resolutions," Lenin said, "is precisely the fact that it enhanced the thirst for building and creativity among the masses..." (op cit., vol 36, p 104). Thanks to the creative activeness of the masses, directed by the communists, the foundations of socialism were laid in our country and its full and definitive victory was ensured; levels were reached marking the beginning of a new stage in the development of the socialist society. Today as well, in pursuing the course of acceleration of the socioeconomic development of the homeland of the October Revolution and the qualitative reorganization and strengthening of dynamism in all areas of life of our society, the party is guided by the firm conviction that the live creativity of the masses is the decisive force of acceleration!

The party's attention is focused on providing the broadest possible scope for the manifestation of the initiative and creativity of the masses. This is the nature of the appeal of the June 1986 CPSU Central Committee Plenum to the working people of the Soviet Union, which called for the development of a nationwide socialist competition for the implementation of the 12th 5-Year Plan. This will be helped by the comprehensively spreading patriotic movement for properly welcoming the forthcoming 70th anniversary of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

"We want to build socialism immediately on the basis of the material left to us by capitalism and do it now and not with people who have been raised in hot houses...", Lenin emphasized in defining the leading factors of economic and cultural construction in the first post-October years (op cit., vol 38, p 54). The current generation of Soviet people as well as not "raised in hot houses." It represents the human factor of the socialist age, shaped on the basis of the collectivistic, labor and moral principles of Soviet community life, ideologically and politically welded, distinguished by high level of professional training and education. The need for scientific and technical progress of the universal worker, the communist ideal of the comprehensively developed individual, reliance on the human intellect as the most important of all social resources and the identification of all capabilities and possibilities of man presume the increased role of the human factor in the forward movement of our society. Its decisive role in the acceleration of socioeconomic progress reformulates the problem of tasks in the social area and the approach to problems of the life and activity of people and their objectives, ideals and values. "All of us must add to the work," M.S. Gorbachev noted at his meeting with the working people of Stavropol Kray in September 1986, "and we shall be able to accomplish this faster only if we take into consideration the human factor always and everywhere."

In the first days of the Soviet system, Lenin wrote that "the cause of justice is for us" (op cit., vol 35, p 66). Concentrated in these words is the most profound meaning of the revolutionary humanism of the October Revolution, which eliminated forever the main sources of social injustice: the exploitation of man by man and inequality in the relationship with the means of production. The principles of social justice define all aspects of socialist production relations. They are reflected in real democracy and the equality of all citizens in the eyes of the law, the actual equality among nations, respect for the individual and the creation of conditions for his harmonious development. They are reflected in extensive social guarantees, such as full employment, accessibility to education, culture, medical services and housing, and concern for motherhood and childhood. However, these most valuable accomplishments of the revolution and of socialism do not mean the "automatic" realization of the advantages of the socialist way of life.

The 27th CPSU Congress particularly indicated that the lack of proper attention to social problems in recent decades became the reason for a number of negative phenomena, which were manifested in underestimating the problems of the material base in the sociocultural sphere, an orientation toward the residual principle in allocating resources for improvement. The congress called for the execution of a strong social policy. "...We must solve such problems not after the development of production but alongside it," M.S. Gorbachev noted in his speech at the conference of the aktiv of the Khabarovsk Kray Party Organization, on 31 July 1986. "Now, considering the fact that production capacities have been expanded significantly, priority must be given to social problems. This is precisely so. We must act as Vladimir Ilich Lenin taught us: less grand phrases, empty talk and conceit and meaningless theorizing, and more daily concern for real actions and for satisfying the needs and demands of the people."

Concentrating our attention on as yet unsolved problems in the social area is the best means of acting in the humanistic traditions of the Great October Revolution and celebrating its great anniversary in a Leninist, a bolshevik style.

A social policy which allows the people to judge of the party's policy as a whole--its trend and orientation and the way it serves the person--is implemented in the activities of the soviets, which were created through the revolutionary creativity of the masses as a system of true popular rule. "Remember that today you yourselves manage the state," Lenin pointed out in addressing himself to the working people of Russia in the first days after the victory of the October Revolution. "...Your soviets are, henceforth, the agencies of the power of the state, the rightful decision-making authorities" (op cit., vol 35, p 66). The soviets of people's deputies passed the test of time. They proved their viability and tremendous possibilities in the exercise of power by the masses and their unification and mobilization. However, a great deal remains to be done to improve their activities. As was noted at the 27th CPSU Congress, the soviets "are short of practicality and initiative and the control they exercise is weak." The full deployment of the powerful potential of the soviets and upgrading their role and responsibility and making them a more efficient link in the mobilization of the working



people for accelerating the country's socioeconomic development is another point on which the party's attention is focused.

The victory of the October Revolution marked a drastic change in living and working conditions and, consequently, in the mentality of the masses. Awareness of this change and realization of the need for it and for assuming the leadership of the masses and guiding them in the right way, as Lenin taught, is the most important task of the Bolshevik Party which the conscious spokesman for the interests of the working people (see op cit., vol 36, p 201). It is precisely thus that the problem was formulated during all subsequent crucial stages in the history of the Soviet state. It is formulated thus even more urgently today. "What we are planning in the country," M.S. Gorbachev said at last September's meeting with the working people of Krasnodar, "we shall begin with the party. Activeness is the main thing. We must reject even the slightest manifestations of inertia and sluggishness. Above all, the party must come closer to the people. It must be familiar with their needs and keep its fingers on the pulse-beat of life. We shall accomplish everything, for the people are following the party."

The difficulty, scale and novelty of the present changes set exceptionally strict requirements concerning the party, the nature of its political, ideological and organizational activities and its work style and methods. The party aktiv, the party members, must set the tone in the overall reorganization process. They must generate new ideas, formulate nonstandard approaches and be at the head of the nationwide movement for the implementation of the course of acceleration of our society's socioeconomic development. The activeness of millions of working people and the scope and depth of people's creativity depend on the actions of the party organizations.

Drawing models of the Leninist style of party work and the ability to reorganize and change methods in leading the masses according to the new conditions and being on the level of its historical responsibility, as it draws from the experience of the October Revolution and bolshevism models of a Leninist party work style, the party draws attention to the practical organization of the work, to the better deployment and upbringing of cadres and to problems of efficient ideological influence over social processes.

"...We must set as our prime, immediate and most important tasks precisely practicality and efficiency of organizational work." It is thus that Lenin defined the nature of party activities after the victory of the October Revolution (op cit., vol 36, p 159). This Leninist requirement becomes particularly important today, when the level and efficiency of organizational work entirely determine the success of the policy of acceleration and the related reorganization. In speaking of this aspect of the matter, M.S. Gorbachev emphasized that "the main thing in the entire political process is the implementation of decisions. Without this there is no policy."

Policy is exercised through people and no policy can be exercised if it is not manifested in the appointment and transfer of cadres and the deployment of party forces. Lenin always reminded us of this (see op cit., vol 45, p 123; vol 40, p 237). Active cadre renovation and the promotion of people who show a spirit of innovation is particularly necessary for a policy of accelerating



developments in all areas of our life. In recent years, the June 1986 CPSU Central Committee Plenum noted, a number of unsolved cadre problems had accumulated in the party. Concentrating our attention on them and appointing in all areas of material and spiritual party activities initiative-minded and professionally competent personnel, who properly understand the present circumstances, is one of the main tasks of the present.

The experience of the Great October Revolution teaches us that policy yields the necessary results when the party's ideas become the conviction of the masses. "The most essential feature on which we must concentrate the entire effort of party influence today," we read in the Central Committee political report to the 27th Party Congress, "is for everyone to realize the gravity of the present and its crucial nature. All of our plans will remain hanging in the air if they leave the people indifferent, if we are unable to awaken the labor and social activeness of the masses and their energy and initiative."

The topical tasks of party ideological-educational work include the comprehensive assertion of a conscious attitude toward labor, self-discipline, collectivism and the lofty ideas of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism and the social and moral principles of socialism, waging an aggressive struggle against the contemporary varieties of philistinism and lack of spirituality, dependency and consumerism. Exposing the fabrications of bourgeois ideology and propaganda and antiscientific and reactionary views on the development of socialism and of human society as a whole assumes particular importance.

Naturally, the opponents of socialism provide their own interpretation of our self-criticism of shortcomings and omissions and manifestations of obsolete dogmatism and bureaucratism, lagging in technological retooling, and criticism of the confusion shown by some leading workers in the face of new phenomena. The bourgeois press spares no words on the "unrealistic" nature of our plan. It is being said that either we will be short of funds or that we shall be unable to reorganize our work within a socialist framework. However, history has frequently provided a convincing answer to such "prophecies." It was predicted that after the victory of the October Revolution the Soviet system would not last even a month. We are now celebrating its 69th anniversary. In the 1930s, our first 5-year plans were described in the West as "chimerical." Yet it is they which made our country a powerful industrial state. After the Great Patriotic War predictions were made of our economic vulnerability and social regress. In the past 25 years alone, however, the country's national economy quadrupled; labor productivity tripled and housing facilities more than doubled. "The more fiercely slanders and lies are poured at the bolsheviks," Lenin pointed out, "...the more calmly we must, refuting lies and slanders, think of the historical link of events in terms of the political, i.e., the class, significance of the set course of the revolution" (op cit., vol 32, p 428).

The general course of our revolution, which began with the Great October, is not a smooth and straight line, always sharply pointing upwards. Everything has happened in the history of the land of the soviets: powerful thrusts and annoying breakdowns and difficult barriers to surmount. The October Revolution took our party and people to the path of pioneers and discoverers

in building socialism. We did not have the experience of some historical predecessors on which we could rely. "...Are there sensible reasons to assume that the people who are solving this problem for the first time can immediately find the only proper unerring method? What grounds do we have to presume this? None!" Lenin said (op cit., vol 44, p 209).

Not bypassing errors and omissions, assessing them accurately and drawing uncompromising lessons from the practice of building socialism, the party has invariably displayed its ability to find accurate solutions for further progress along the path of the October Revolution. Learning on the march, solving new problems, fearlessly marching forward and daring to assume responsibility is what it calls upon us to do today, at the stage of acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development for, in Lenin's words, "Every step upwards we take in the cause of developing production forces and culture must be accompanied by completing and redoing our Soviet system.... A great deal of redoing remains to be done and to be 'bothered' by this would be the peak of stupidity (if not worse)" (op cit., vol 44, p 224).

As the pioneers in building socialism, today we can take into consideration the positive experience of the fraternal socialist countries which are following the path opened by the October Revolution. "The careful and respectful attitude toward reciprocal experience and its practical utilization are a tremendous reserve of the socialist world," the Central Committee political report to the CPSU Congress emphasized. Our party proceeds from the fact that the comprehensive exchange of experience, extensive cooperation and increasingly active interaction among socialist countries not only sum up but multiply their potential and are an incentive for the acceleration of our joint movement ahead. Today the destinies of the world and social progress on earth are related more closely than ever before to the dynamism of the economic and political development of the global socialist system. "On this level," M.S. Gorbachev noted in his answer to the questions asked by the editor in chief of the newspaper RUDE PRAVO, "the qualitative labor of the Soviet people and of the working people in the socialist community is also a contribution to the cause of peace. If we give it some slack the pressure of the enemies of socialism increases. As we become stronger and firmer economically, socially and politically, the capitalist world becomes more interested in maintaining normal relations with us, and the illusions that history could be turned back evaporate."

The new age in universal history, which was opened by the Great October, marks the establishment and development of the international communist movement, which developed into a tremendous political force. A process is under way today of perfecting all forms of activity and organization of the communists and their further international unification; this demands of the fraternal parties, including the CPSU, even more active participation in the creative solution of theoretical problems of the movement as a whole and surmounting the inertia of obsolete concepts, no longer consistent with the imperatives of the time. The joint solution of these problems means enhancing the international communist movement to a qualitatively higher level consistent with the realities of our days.

The historical mission of the working class found its material embodiment in the victory of the October Revolution and in its social gains. The successful implementation of the complex and comprehensive problems which face the international labor movement today presumes strengthening the unity of its ranks. As before, however, the problem which is of crucial importance to the destinies of the movement and the successful implementation of its role as the leading progressive social force remains unsolved--that of surmounting the division and strengthening unity on the basis of independent class positions, free from bourgeois influence. Under these circumstances, the CPSU raises the question included in the new draft of its program: "However profound the differences among the various trends in the labor movement may be, this is no obstacle in the fruitful and systematic exchange of views, in taking parallel or joint actions against the threat of war, in improving the international situation and eliminating the vestiges of colonialism, and in securing the interests and rights of the working people."

In celebrating the anniversary of the Great October Revolution, once again we assert our invariable solidarity with the forces of national and social liberation and the line of close interaction with countries with a socialist orientation, the revolutionary-democratic parties and the nonaligned movement. Taking into consideration the new realities, the Soviet public is ready comprehensively to develop relations with mass democratic trends and organizations which oppose war.

Lenin described the Great October Socialist Revolution as "the first victory in the elimination of war" (see op cit., vol 44, p 149). With the famous Decree on Peace, literally at its birth the Soviet state called for the establishment of a type of world order which would be ruled not by military power but by good neighborly relations and cooperation for the benefit of all nations. Throughout its entire history, the land of the soviets has systematically tried to assert such principles and set them as standards of international relations. As was emphasized at the 27th CPSU Congress, our country intends to continue strictly to support a course of peaceful coexistence. However, continuity in foreign policy does not mean in the least a simple repetition of the past, particularly in the approach to the problems which have accumulated.

The main problem is the arms race unleashed by imperialism, a race which has reached a limit beyond which there appears a real threat to the very existence of mankind. This threat can be removed only with the elimination, as the Soviet Union has suggested, of nuclear weapons and, as a first step, ending nuclear tests. The position of the USSR reflects both a clear awareness of the extent of the threat of nuclear war and the need to do everything possible to prevent it, as well as a political will and specific actions in this direction. It is precisely this approach that characterizes the 15 January 1986 declaration of the CPSU Central Committee secretary, which offered a gradual program for the total elimination of nuclear and other types of mass destruction weapons by the year 2000. It is distinguished by a high degree of responsibility for the fate of civilization and offers mankind a truly unique opportunity. In this connection, the 18 August 1986 declaration of the CPSU Central Committee general secretary on the decision to extend the Soviet moratorium on nuclear tests to 1 January 1987 is of exceptional significance.

The Soviet unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests and its subsequent quadruple extension are no longer declarations but actions, a political and military reality which practically asserts a trend of reason and common sense in global politics. It is also an appeal for action addressed to the United States to make use of this historical opportunity and to display a new type of political thinking in this key area, for banning nuclear tests is the fastest and most radical step of all those which can be really taken today in limiting armaments: it enables us to avoid a large number of problems related to disproportions of technical, strategic, geostrategic and political nature. The Soviet Union backs the practical initiatives on halting nuclear tests with new proposals on the creation of an international, a supranational control system in this area. "There is still time for making joint, responsible, albeit compromise, decisions. This is the most precious thing which we still have and which is still available," M.S. Gorbachev emphasizes. "However, time is running out fast. The age of the nuclear weapon is obviously the fastest of all ages in world history. That is why specific actions are so greatly needed today."

Our program for the total elimination of nuclear and other types of mass destruction weapons, which was formulated by the USSR together with its Warsaw Pact allies in June 1986, is substantially expanded and strengthened by the initiative of a broad-scale reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals. The broad Soviet platform of ensuring security and cooperation in the Asian-Pacific area has also met with great public response. Our new proposals in the area of banning chemical weapons and eliminating their stocks and production facilities would enable us, by the end of this year or the next, to sign a corresponding international convention. The program submitted by the USSR to the United Nations for building a "star peace," as an alternative to the American plans of "star wars," is of the greatest possible importance in preventing the spreading of the arms race to outer space.

In addition to disarmament steps, nuclear above all, the Soviet Union has suggested new practical approaches to problems of achieving progress in the political, economic and humanitarian areas of international relations. They were most comprehensively summed up in the foundations for an all-embracing system of international security formulated at the 27th CPSU Congress.

It is becoming increasingly obvious to millions and millions of people that the future of mankind is endangered not only by the threat of a nuclear cataclysm. Another area of concern is that of the so-called "sliding catastrophes," in the course of which the trouble develops imperceptively. The growing impact on biology, genetics and the human mind of new factors and life conditions and the concentration of chemical and other substances in the habitat raise essential ecological, biomedical, demographic and other problems related to the imperatives of life. Other global problems awaiting their constructive solution are those of energy, food, progress in culture and education, and so on. This must be taken into consideration by all states the actions of which determine the means of solving problems of universal significance. Our country--the heir of the humanist ideals of the October Revolution--is paying increasingly closer attention to them.

Guided by the most vital universal aspirations while remaining, at the same time, class-oriented, the international policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state is closely tied to the solution of our internal constructive problems. Ending material preparations for nuclear war and ensuring for the Soviet people the possibility of working under conditions of lasting peace and freedom means ensuring the success of the main link in our present initiatives--the strategy of acceleration. On the other hand, each step forward taken in the implementation of the course of acceleration of socioeconomic development is of prime importance to a successful Soviet foreign policy.

The problems which confront us are distinguished by their scale, complexity and novelty. Their solution is inconceivable without a further creative development of revolutionary theory on the basis of the comprehensive study of new phenomena in life, the experience of the global revolutionary movement, the practice of building socialism and communism and the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress. The need to turn to Vladimir Ilich Lenin's creative legacy and, particularly, to works written in the last years of his life, which provide models of profound theoretical conclusions from the study of the real practices of building socialism, is greater than ever. This is based on the development of an entire set of conceptual, socioeconomic, moral and psychological aspects of the accelerated progress of our country and, on this basis, the enrichment of the scientific concepts of acceleration, which will define our policy today and in the future.

To act according to this policy means to support everything that is new and progressive, everything that is born in the course of the reorganization; it means to wage an irreconcilable struggle against sluggishness and routine, prejudices and obsolete concepts in theory and practice and comprehensively to contribute to the development of a new style of thinking and new approaches to political, organizational, economic and ideological-educational activities consistent with the requirements of the present.

In celebrating the anniversary of the Great October in an atmosphere of a broad social upsurge, creativity and initiative, an atmosphere of bolshevik truth and principle-mindedness, created by the 27th CPSU Congress, we feel particularly keenly the unbreakable link of times, the continuity of revolutionary accomplishments, the vitality of bolshevik traditions and their consistency with the overall moral and psychological feeling of change. The 27th Party Congress gave our society a powerful upward impetus. Its base, however, is the impetus provided by the Great October, aspiring toward the future, multiplied by "what the revolution has accomplished so far."

During the celebrations of the third anniversary of the October Revolution, Lenin noted: "We must remember that today's mood must assume a long range shape in our work..." (op cit., vol 42, p 5). These words are the best guidance given to the Soviet people, who are celebrating today the 69th anniversary of the Great Revolution. The large number of innovative and difficult steps which must be taken and the need for reorganization will require of everyone intensive mental work, stressed labor, control, conscientiousness and organization. The united actions of one and all and the

firm unity between party and people are the prerequisites for the successful implementation of the strategic CPSU course aimed at preserving and strengthening peace, strengthening the power of the homeland of the October Revolution and making our life better, purer and more just.

"We are approaching a noteworthy anniversary: the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution," the June 1986 CPSU Plenum noted. "Welcoming this noteworthy holiday with a sharp economic and sociopolitical upsurge, achievements and successes worthy of the homeland of the October Revolution is our common patriotic and international duty." To implement this duty means honorably to pursue the cause of those who had the happy opportunity of initiating the building of socialism, thus inaugurating a new age in universal history.

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## STRATEGY OF ACCELERATION: THEORY AND PRACTICE

### SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL PROGRESS AND PROBLEMS OF RECONSTRUCTION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 86 (signed to press 10 Oct 86) pp 34-41

[Article by L. Braginskiy, doctor of economic sciences]

[Text] The reorientation of investment policy, giving priority to capital investments in new construction, the creation of additional jobs in reconstruction and technical retooling of the existing potential is the main feature of the economic strategy formulated and energetically implemented by the party. "The essence of the changes," the CPSU Central Committee political report to the 27th Party Congress emphasized, "lies in shifting the center of attention from quantitative indicators to quality and efficiency; from intermediary to end results and from expansion to the renovation of production assets...."

Today it is a question not simply of changing the reproduction structure of capital investments and increasing the share of reconstruction investments within them to the 50.5 percent level instead of the present 38.5 percent although, naturally, this remains the main question. This means an accelerated turn to intensive type of socialist expanded reproduction and a radical improvement in the basic ratios within the national economy on the basis of a radical technical reconstruction. Reconstructed capital investments yield faster returns and thus contribute to the growth of the country's national income and the optimizing of its distribution.

The efficiency of the reconstruction depends on the solution of a number of most important problems, above all the progressive development of the machine building complex, which provides a material base for upgrading social labor productivity, resource conservation and improvements in production quality. The party has set the task not only simply of updating the production process but also ensuring a type of updating accompanied by the installation of the most advanced equipment. Furthermore, the technical reconstruction is related to the need for radically improving capital construction. This will require the reorganization of the activities of construction and installation organizations based on the specific nature of working under current production conditions. All of these are fixed components of the governmental program for the revolutionary reorganization of the technological production system.



Statistical data indicate that about 60 percent of all industrial-production fixed capital was renovated during the 10th and 11th 5-year periods. Nevertheless, as was noted at the 27th CPSU Congress and the June 1986 Central Committee Plenum, a significant share of productive capital has become obsolete. This process is even intensifying, for the objectively set deadlines for an active service life of fixed assets, oriented toward the standards of technical progress, is becoming shorter today in industry. Requirements concerning the updating of machines, equipment and work places as a whole are becoming stricter. That is precisely why the systematic and gradual updating of existing working capital is becoming a key problem of acceleration.

The task of concentrating resources above all on the technical retooling and reconstruction of existing enterprises requires a profound scientific study of the ways and means of its implementation and determining the real economic conditions for the dynamic implementation of this process.

In our view, in the course of this quest it is exceptionally important to take comprehensively into consideration the set of objective contradictions which arise in the course of the implementation of the policy of the development of scientific and technical progress. Finding ways of solving such contradictions is the most topical problem in improving the economic management mechanism.

The first thing which we must note is the contradiction between the fast aging of production facilities and the need for their updating, on the one hand, and the actual connection between the accumulation fund for the numerous construction projects, on the other. At the present time, more than 300,000 industrial projects alone are under construction in the country. The coefficient of availability of resources for initiated construction projects is about 20 percent, which means doubling the actual time needed for their completion as compared to set standards.

That is why the problem of procuring the necessary funds for the technical reconstruction of the production process cannot be solved without a radical review of the construction program and the deletion from the plan or mothballing of a significant percentage of already initiated projects. This will require a consideration of both the losses which will have to be accepted in this operation as well as means of compensating for them through the accelerated completion of priority construction projects by concentrating the funds on their completion. This project will require a nationwide approach. In our view, it has become necessary to create a corresponding extradepartmental council of experts under the aegis of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology and the USSR Academy of Sciences. A method for determining the losses from the mothballing of construction projects will have to be developed also.

The second contradiction is the one between the existing system for updating and the requirements of the scientific and technical revolution. The party documents note that in most sectors scientific and technical progress is accomplished primarily by improving existing technologies and the partial updating of machines and equipment. Yet in order to ensure a significant

increase in the efficiency of public production all economic sectors will have to be retooled. This is inconceivable without additional capital investment. In turn, this raises questions of improving the distribution of the national income and balancing the plan.

Of late the accumulated part of the national income has shown a growing trend: compared with 1980, its 1984 growth rates were higher than the growth rates of the consumed part (in actual prices for the respective years) by a factor of 2.3. That is precisely why accelerating returns on capital investments, mainly by increased capital returns in the national economy, must become the most important source for the fast renovation of fixed capital.

A study has indicated that between 1976 and 1985 capital returns--the generated national income (in terms of the volume of production assets)--declined by 26 percent. In order to put an end to this negative trend, in addition to the concentration of capital investments we shall also have to mobilize noninvestment resources, such as working capital, redistribution of worker cadres and the solution of a number of organizational problems. The experience of some developed countries indicates that they have achieved a significantly faster rate of investments in working capital compared to investments in fixed capital by approximately a factor of 2-3; it is thus that at the time of technical restructuring of enterprises, resources of raw materials, materials, and so on, are made available. Meanwhile, in the Soviet national economy, the value of material working capital is approximately 37 percent that of fixed production assets; to a certain extent, this indicates the extensive nature of the utilization of the production system.

The third contradiction is the one between supply of and demand for resources with an increased share of capital investments in updating and reconstruction. At the present time demand for capital investments is shaped under the influence of the existing structure for financing such investments. In this case state budget funds account for 46.3 percent; long-term credits for 2.6 percent and enterprise funds for 50.7 percent. As a rule, budget funds are channeled into new construction. As to enterprise funds, they largely come from updating amortization (more than two-thirds) and depend on the procedure for its computation and allocation. Under these circumstances, sectors and enterprises which have large accumulated funds from the export of fixed assets find themselves in an advantageous situation: as a rule, the greater the volume of fixed capital and the greater their "age," the greater demand for capital investments becomes.

Capital returns and other indicators of the efficiency of the utilization of fixed capital are of lesser importance in the formation of resources, for profits play a secondary role in sources of financing capital investments.

On the other hand, for the time being the necessary economic conditions for reconstruction have not been made available. The share of such projects in the reproduction structure of capital investments remains low despite the facilities which are granted (such as higher salaries of leading personnel in construction and installation organizations, with a 50 percent or higher share of reconstruction work within the overall program of activities of such organizations).

This essentially explains the economic unprofitability of doing such work by the construction organizations, particularly under current production conditions: the utilization of mechanisms is complicated and so is the organization of the work at the construction site; labor intensiveness increases, etc. That is why, quite frequently, new construction is carried out under the guise of reconstruction, which is the economically most efficient method for contracting construction organizations.

In emphasizing the need for enterprise technical retooling, M.S. Gorbachev particularly emphasized that "the share of funds channeled into reconstruction, of the overall volume of industrial capital investments, must be increased in the next few years from one-third to at least one-half. Naturally, we cannot do altogether without new construction." That is why it is of exceptional importance clearly to define the system of priorities and proportions in structural policy and clarify the way of optimizing the correlation between capital investments in new construction and in reconstruction.

Such problems are being extensively debated in our economic publications. As is frequently the case, extremes are not absent. Thus, for example, it is claimed that in the future the virtually entire planned growth of labor productivity and increased output must be achieved with the existing jobs. This conclusion, however, does not take into consideration the program for the development of new production facilities in the remote areas of Siberia, the North and the Far East, and the possibility of technical retooling of the old areas. It is precisely the formulation of an optimal reproduction structure of capital investments that predetermines the norm of accumulation of the national income and, perhaps, also the policy of development at each stage of economic growth.

Marx considered the accumulation of fixed capital a mandatory prerequisite "for the application of technical achievements in...the production organism" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 24, p 137). Indeed, the new technical achievements, which are the main landmarks of scientific and technical progress, are not the least to be applied as the result of new construction. Therefore, as in the past, new construction remains a major trend in the policy of capital investments and we should discuss the choice of optimal construction programs, completion deadlines and returns.

Nevertheless, new construction, which leads to the most noticeable progress in the growth of public production and labor productivity, could delay increasing the efficiency of already installed fixed capital and narrow the possibility of its reconstruction. Since today releasing workers from operating enterprises is a manpower reserve, technical progress at such enterprises is a most important prerequisite for the efficiency of new construction and limiting reconstruction may have an adverse effect on new construction itself.

Let us note yet another important circumstance.

Achieving the most important objective of scientific and technical progress--saving on labor and reducing it, which is the economic resource in the shortest supply--is taking place against the background of rapidly growing

material outlays, i.e., of increased "cost" to society of the mechanization and automation of labor-intensive production processes, auxiliary in particular, which can be recovered over only after long periods of time.

Let us note that from the viewpoint of the dynamics of labor resources our production process is developing intensively: between 1976 and 1984 the gross national product increased by 46 percent, whereas the number of workers and employees in the national economy increased by no more than 4.7 percent; the share of the population used in material production sectors declined by 2.1 percent. At the same time, we note the fast growth of production assets which are outstripping higher public production output by more than 100 percent.

The reasons for the fast growth of capital- and asset-intensiveness of output are several. Let us note above all a certain "extensification" in the development of the material and technical base of the national economy, related to the development of new areas, improvements in the production and nonproduction infrastructures, and the opening of new jobs. Such expenditures are particularly high in the extracting sectors, where we note the most significant changes in capital intensiveness per unit of output. Thus, capital investments per 1 ton of extracted fuel have nearly doubled.

Other reasons for increased production outlays exist, related to the intensification of fixed assets and changes in the nature of the reproduction of labor tools. In the course of scientific and technical progress we have not a simple increase in the volume of fixed capital but also changes in its quality: previously installed equipment is equipped with automation, numerical program controls, etc. It is for this reason, in particular, that the cost of fixed assets is increasing faster than their capacity and physical volume. Such changes in costs are influenced also by the price setting system, including the faster growth of prices of new machines and equipment compared with their productivity and other consumer qualities. For example, existing computations indicate that a 1 percent increase in the capacity of a machine tool increases its cost by an average of 14-15 percent. In this case, it is as though the price "eats up" if one may say so, some of the results of scientific and technical progress in terms of the consumers of items the prices of which are rapidly increasing.

The following conclusion seems quite legitimate: a drastic comparison between the two basic trends in capital investments--reconstruction and new construction--is economically unsubstantiated; the development of public production is inconceivable without the construction of new projects, for otherwise the growth of labor productivity (on an average) declines. On the other hand, the installation of new fixed capital depends on the efficient utilization of already operating one, for it is precisely within the operating production facilities that resources for simple and expanded reproduction are generated. That is why we frequently come across a situation in which the efficiency of new construction proves to be low as a result of losses from the underutilization of previously created assets.

The problem of the correlation between construction and technical reconstruction of operating enterprises is largely related to defining the economic limits of the growth of capital intensiveness of public production.

Under the conditions of a fast increase of outlays the choice of reconstruction capital investments is dictated in practice above all by the need for economical investments in the passive share of fixed assets and the creation of a production and nonproduction infrastructure. Therefore, increasing the share of capital investments in reconstruction and modernization is related to the need to reduce the stress in the distribution of the national income and the pursuit of a resource conservation policy.

Studies have indicated, however, that with a certain increase in the share of capital investments in technical retooling and reconstruction of operating enterprises (5.9 percent in 1981-1985) the capital intensiveness of the gross product increased (by 17.9 percent). Obviously, in itself the increase in reconstruction investments is insufficient in terms of solving the intensification problem.

The point is that, first of all, in the course of the reconstruction, particularly of old projects, it becomes necessary to carry out a significant volume of construction work, including enlarging the premises for the installation of new mechanisms, replacing foundations, reinforcing them, etc. The data confirm that frequently the share of construction work in such measures turns out to be almost the same as in new construction.

Secondly, since the main part of the capital investments for reconstruction is outlays for the purchasing of new machines and mechanisms, the amount of such outlays depends on the price of means of production. The latter have shown a clearly mounting trend compared with the growth rates of the cost of construction work.

Finally, we must take into consideration the growing dependency of capital investments on the nature of utilization of the totality of means of production at existing enterprises. This problem is related also to defining the nature of the reconstruction. One-time updating related to replacing individual machines and machine tools without an overall reconstruction of means of production or unified technological processes is quite widespread. Frequently, such capital investments bring about disproportions, for the installation of more productive machinery without organizing the infrastructure and the range of auxiliary operations leads to new production bottlenecks. Thus, installing isolated technically advanced machinery leads to an overall drop in shop efficiency or enterprise department, for as a rule, the new equipment turns out to be more productive, which determines the "lack of interconnection of capacities." Furthermore, with such investments capital returns decline essentially because of the higher price of the new machines and equipment and their underutilization.

Comprehensive reconstruction measures applied to both basic and auxiliary processes along the entire technological production chain leading to the end product are the most efficient. In machine building enterprises with a high percentage of fully mechanized shops the growth of labor productivity steadily outstrips the growth of asset availability. However, here we must remember that comprehensive reconstruction requires substantial capital investments. In order to assess and compute their economic effect it is very important to know the problems which are being solved through reconstruction.

Let us note among them the following:

Making the technical base consistent with the requirements of scientific and technical progress means establishing similar standards for production updating and fixed assets. In recent years, a slowing down of processes of writing-off exhausted fixed assets has been noted in industry (from 1.9 to 1.4 percent between 1970 and 1985), and in renovation (from 11.0 to 7.0 percent). This means that the average "age" of industrial assets has increased by approximately one-third;

Balancing jobs with available manpower in the national economy through the better utilization of fixed assets. The point is that between 1976 and 1985 the size of the industrial-personnel increased by 12 percent which, according to our estimates, filled approximately one-third of the newly created jobs. By lowering the norm of write-offs and lengthening somewhat the service life of fixed assets, to a certain extent we can influence the stabilization of accumulation norms in the distribution of the national income. However, this is hindered by the fact that a significant number of workers are using obsolete assets. The reconstruction of such assets would lengthen their service life which, in practice, means reducing the growth rates of capital investments and thus expanding the economy more economically;

Achieving the socially necessary level of outlays which ensures a normal course of accumulation, i.e., compensating for the cost of means of production and their expanded reproduction. Of late the increasing gap between the periods of physical and moral wear of means of production has assumed great importance. This trend substantially increases the role of the fuller utilization of available fixed assets and their reconstruction (assets which become morally obsolete particularly quickly) in terms of lowering demands put on the budget. Incidentally, in this connection, particular attention should be paid to capital returns both as a factor in the growth of accumulations and as an element in planning enterprise production costs.

The comprehensive reconstruction of the production process helps us to solve the problem of releasing manpower. This is important not only from the viewpoint of reducing production outlays but also eliminating the contradiction between the growth of jobs and the slower increase in the number of workers employed in the national economy. That is precisely why the size of the personnel increases and there is increased demand for new manpower precisely in sectors which have the slowest wear rate of fixed assets and a slow comprehensive reorganization of the production process.

In other words, not any kind of new policy of technical modernization could be an alternative to new construction but the type of policy which ensures the actual conservation of resources. "Resource conservation" should imply the economy of current and past labor materialized in means of production.

The more capital investments are used for purposes of saving manpower or eliminating jobs, the lesser the efficiency of the new capital assets becomes, compared with the old. Consequently, the efficiency of scientific and technical progress should be based on the overall outlays of labor and



materials. Let us recall that reducing the material- and capital-intensiveness of output by 1 percent significantly exceeds savings from wages.

In order to intensify the interaction between investment and structural policy, it is very important to earmark ways of perfecting general economic management mechanisms. One of the first problems here is the formulation of standards for writing off and updating fixed assets on the basis of their physical and moral obsolescence.

The 27th CPSU Congress set the task of increasing the coefficient of the annual write-offs of obsolete equipment by an average of up to 5-6 percent. Clearly, the specific write-off coefficients will vary among sectors and enterprises, according to the structure of the fixed assets which are being written off and the conditions for their replacement.

The "age" of the assets and the sequence of their renovations, degree of intensive utilization and amount of outlays for keeping them functional (capital repairs) must be taken into consideration in drafting differentiated write-off norms. Such norms would vary for the individual sectors, depending on laying realistic foundations for replacing obsolete means of production and the available financial base for such replacement.

We believe that it would be expedient to study the practice of degressive amortization, i.e., of an uneven assessment of the wearing out of new and old assets, and the purposeful utilization of funds for renovation only for restoring the value of specific means of production and, to this purpose, depositing amortization funds in special bank accounts (based on the Hungarian experience), and ending renovation amortizations after the service life of fixed assets has expired.

In our view, all of this will make it possible to make the amortization system consistent with the requirements of society and possibilities of reproduction of fixed capital.

Steps related to the economic incentive of reconstruction are of great importance. In this case we must not limit ourselves merely to defining the role of such work in the overall volume of capital investments; we must also determine a price consistent with the outlays and effectiveness of reconstructions. The sectorial correction coefficients applicable currently in the case of estimated costs of construction and installation projects (no more than 1.04 for the majority of sectors) do not solve problems related to the unsuitability of reconstruction compared with new construction.

As a whole, the low profitability of the construction organizations and their extremely low level of technical assets, compared with industry, under the circumstances of a significant and, above all, unsatisfied demand on the part of sectors and enterprises for the completion of initiated and the building of new projects, encourage work on profitable and essentially material-intensive projects. Thus, because of the high profitability of construction involving the use of prestressed reinforced concrete items and the low profitability of labor-intensive reconstruction, in practice the latter are carried out extremely slowly. As we already noted, frequently new construction is carried



out under the guise of reconstruction, for in fact it turns out to be more difficult to define the limits of technical reconstruction and the expansion of existing enterprises for maintaining their capacity on the necessary levels.

As to the reconstructed enterprises themselves, the respective operations, comprehensive retooling in particular, mean not simply changing the technical standards of the production process but also a worsening of intraproduction, sectorial and intersectorial relations. This requires upgrading the level of availability of skilled cadres and material resources and creating a new industrial infrastructure.

In practice, in the technical retooling of the production process, frequently the enterprises experience significant difficulties in implementing the plan for their main activities and meeting their financial obligations to the budget. In our view, enterprises which complete their reproduction reconstruction within the planned deadline should be given the right to amend their annual program within the framework of their 5-year assignments and be relieved for that period from paying for their assets subject to the reconstruction.

The efficient economic stimulation of reconstruction calls for converting all participants to a system of self-recovery and self-financing. In order to solve this problem, along with a review of the policy of price setting in construction and in current output, we must ensure adequate financial resources out of profits and amortization payments. In particular, we are familiar with the suggestion that in determining the rates of withholding from profits for increasing production development funds, we take into consideration the age structure of assets and the volume of planned capital investments for technical reconstruction. Furthermore, it would be expedient to increase long-term and short-term loans for reconstruction carried out over and above the limits of state capital investments. We should also allow direct budget allocation for such work the cost of which exceeds a specified level (100,000 rubles, for example).

The purpose of all such steps is to help in the creation of real economic conditions for accelerating the reconstruction of operating enterprises.

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## NEW WAY OF THINKING AND WORKING

### INCREASED ROLE AND RESPONSIBILITY OF SOVIETS

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[Article by Yu. Litvintsev, first secretary of the Tula CPSU Obkom]

[Text] The Key Figure

The people of Kosaya Gora, which is a large worker settlement near Tula, planned the building of a consumer services combine on the grounds of the old and totally obsolete public baths. Consequently, the executive committee set up a public council of directors of local enterprises. At first, at the discussion stage, all went well. However, when the time for practical action came, the directors had lost some of their enthusiasm. Some of them undertook to count the number of workers of individual enterprises who actually lived in the settlement and who, consequently, should make greater efforts in building the combine. An innumerable number of meetings were held and a great deal of discussions took place without, however, making any progress. The decision of the executive committee was not carried out. The stubborn behavior of economic managers was blamed for this. Initially, this may have been the case. The main reason, however, should nevertheless be sought in the position taken by the executive committee which, in order not to spoil relations with some managers, did not dare to use its power where it was needed and ensure the completion of the project.

The pertinent question is, how to make them do it? Do the soviet and its executive committee have effective levers for influencing uncaring economic managers? The decree of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers on enhancing the role and responsibility of soviets of people's deputies, armed suitably all executive committees in this respect. However, even before this document was promulgated the possibility existed of successfully completing the project. A deputy could have raised the question or a discussion could have been held by the party group. In the final account, almost all of the managers involved in the project were deputies. Why, therefore, was the question of having the deputies meet their obligations not raised?

The soviets, which were the creation of the revolutionary efforts of the people, may be considered with full justification a school in which the complex and very difficult subject of being the master of one's own country,

is learned. As was emphasized in the CPSU Central Committee political report to the 27th Congress, the soviets "have passed the test of time and proved their viability and tremendous possibilities of exercising the rule of the people and unifying and mobilizing the masses."

The objectives and problems which the soviets have had to solve at different stages in the development of our society have varied. However, their nature, their democratic essence, has remained unchanged. Created within the masses, they rule by relying on them and in their interest. This, precisely, is the inexhaustible source of their viability, which is steadily increasing as ever new strata of working people become involved with politics, i.e., with practical specific work in managing production and the state. The key personality in the soviets is the deputy, who is the cog of the wheel of the people. The modern soviet deputy is a well-educated and professionally knowledgeable person. The nucleus of the deputy corps consist of people in the active age group. Almost half of them are women. During the past 5-year period alone 36,000 people acquired deputy experience, 18,000 of them workers and 6,000 kolkhoz members. Adding to them the large aktiv of the soviet system--the various social organizations and institutions--this is a tremendous force which, precisely, is the living fabric of socialist democracy and which determines our way of life. Like good and rich soil it nurtures the shoots of people's wisdom and helps to bring to light the best qualities of the Soviet person who participates in the administration of his country.

In our oblast the following names are mentioned with respect: Viktor Nikolayevich Shorokhov, tuner at the Tula Machine Building Plant imeni V.M. Ryabikov, USSR Supreme Soviet deputy; Aleksandra Ivanovna Silayeva, head of a truck gardening brigade at Priupskiy Sovkhoz, RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputy; Anna Tikhonovna Terekhova, drivers' instructor at the Streetcar-Trolley Bus Administration, oblast soviet deputy; Yevgeniy Dimitriyevich Konstantinov, head of a construction-assembly brigade, Tula City Soviet deputy; Yekaterina Semenovna Shmeleva, calf breeder at the Rayevo Sovkhoz, honored worker in agriculture and Teplo-Ogarevskiy Rayon Soviet deputy, and others. These people are models of conscientious attitudes toward their work, and people turn to them with their concerns and difficulties. These are people who will not ignore others. They will look into the people's concerns and, if possible, will do everything they can to help them.

Many such truly people's deputies exist. Unfortunately, however, by no means are those elected by the people really active. Some of them are merely listed as deputies. It is sometimes said that not all people have the same ability for state work and that this should be taken into consideration. It is true that people have different capabilities. But then why not see to it that it is only the most gifted, the most combative part of the population who are made members of soviets? In my view, this is prevented by the excessive overorganization in the choice of candidates for deputies. We frequently base our work on documents, guided by purely superficial features, such as age, education, profession and social status. Sometimes even party-mindedness could be an obstacle, if it turns out that the slate of candidates does not include a single nonparty member.

Frequently, our reports show that everything is in order: there is progress in all areas and all categories and social strata or represented in the slate of deputies yet no corresponding progress in activities is visible.

Naturally, we must control the age structure and educational level and take into consideration the social origin of the candidates. However, pedantry should not exist in such work. We must not sacrifice common sense and the interest of the matter to formalistic considerations. In order to achieve a real acceleration, we must rely on the creative forces of society, give them scope and turn them to solving broad problems. The same should be pursued in shaping the agencies of the people's rule. What matters most is the talent of the person and his ability, having rallied around him like-minded people, to move projects ahead. It is precisely such people that must be sought and allowed to handle production and the entire course of our life!

Unfortunately, excessive organization and formalism make themselves be known also at the next stage, when the candidate undertakes to implement his obligations as deputy. I am referring to instructions. What happens frequently? Primarily, instructions the implementation of which has already been stipulated one way or another in the plan for the economic and social development of the specific electoral district, are the first to be selected for implementation. Such appearance of activities is harmful to the prestige of the Soviet system. Naturally, such methods may help to earn a certain respect on the part of the voters. However, any investigation would reveal that this is a distortion of the very idea of the instructions to the deputies, which are a powerful lever for influencing the solution of a topical economic and social problems. This kind of approach prevents the enhancement of collective reasoning, the practical exercising of socialist democracy and involving the people in the administration of social affairs.

In interpreting problems of party leadership of the soviets, we try to look into corners which have long been ignored and, metaphorically speaking, remove the cobwebs which have accumulated there for years and which prevent us from seeing the full and actual picture of what the soviets can do, what they actually do and what they fail to do. It is only by knowing the real situation that we can rapidly reorganize and activate sooner the tremendous constructive energy of these organs of democracy.

It is no accident that today greater interest is being shown by soviet cadres in political and economic training and the study of progressive experience. We thoroughly support this desire for renovation and reorganization of the work. On this level, the training sessions of soviets and executive committees have proven their usefulness. Demonstration citizen rallies are being increasingly used in the oblast. The local press, radio and television are actively participating in this project by regularly publishing materials on most relevant topics and producing programs on a great variety of soviet activities. It has become the rule to announce publicly the agenda of forthcoming sessions and to ask the working people through the press to submit their suggestions and remarks. It is thus that bits of interesting and useful experience are accumulated and crystallized. Shortcomings, obsolete ways and means of work, sluggishness and routine are not ignored.

Many people have become convinced of the great power of publicity. For example, the method of open-day letters we are using has proved to be exceptionally effective. This is not only a good way of informing the working people about one problem or another but also of involving them in its solution. It is true that such a level of efficiency is achieved only when the organizers--the executive committees of the local soviets--address the population in the language of truth, and discuss with it the most crucial problems.

Our people actively participate in the solution of state problems. Essentially, the entire basic significance of economic and social problems becomes apparent when they meet with the people's approval. Let us recall the interest with which the plan for the school reform or the draft Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the Country in the 12th 5-Year Period and the Period Until the Year 2000 were discussed. Thousands of suggestions, advice and remarks came from the working people of Tula alone.

But here is a paradox: sometimes we become more involved with affairs of state than affairs of our own backyard, street, village or settlement. It frequently happens that indignant people make the rounds, complaining that the equipment in their children's playgrounds has not been repaired for a long time and has become totally unusable. Furthermore, the timbers have been broken and no one is concerned with putting things in order. What can we say on this subject? Naturally, the fact that the respective communal services are idling is bad. However, the position of the residents of the home whose playground has been neglected indicates a helplessness which does not generate particular sympathy. The playground would have been properly organized a long time ago and quite well at that if, without waiting for outside help, the people themselves had undertaken to do the work. It is annoying when we see rubbish in the new agricultural settlements, many of which have been built in the villages. They have neither trees nor flowers nor beautifully decorated fences. The cold bureaucratic aspect of such settlements makes us sad. And the people who live there absorb and accumulate within themselves such a bureaucratic approach, day after day, through which they also look at the world around them.

It is thus that in the expectation that someone else, who will be paid for it, will come and repair the bench at the station or plant a tree near a new house, that dependency develops, something which is entirely against our socialist way of life. The local soviets can and must help to put an end to this. Their main lever is socialist self-government, which most frequently begins precisely with the solution of ordinary, daily problems. Those who consider themselves the owners of their yard, street, village or city are also good and caring masters of the country. It is precisely such active interconnection that we must comprehensively strengthen and make specific in each individual case.

Begichevskiy is a small worker settlement in our oblast. At all times of the year it is always neat and orderly, pleasing the eyes with its coziness. Who watches over the order in the settlement? The population itself, headed by the settlement soviet, which consists of 60 deputies with an additional 800 activists working in the various social organizations. This is a major force.

Naturally, the settlement soviet does not have substantial funds. The local enterprises as well are not "millionaires." Nevertheless, through cooperation and concentration of "kopeks" within single hands, such funds are efficiently and steadily converted into newly asphalted streets or house repairs. With their own hands and with the help of local enterprises, they rebuilt 500 ATS houses. The executive committee has also undertaken to gassify the settlement. We believe that this too will be carried out. We believe it because the executive committee does not work alone but relies on the population, on its interest in solving general settlement problems. The working people willingly participate in settlement projects. We are not referring to trash-removing subbotniks. The population itself has laid out a beautiful square, erected an obelisk in honor of the 40th anniversary of the Great Victory and laid 500 meters of pedestrian paths. Such projects may not be all that extensive but their virtue is that they contain the shoots of a collectivistic awareness.

### The Final Authority

The concept of the final authority is when everyone considers his work place the final authority, at which point the person develops a deep feeling of civic responsibility, which is the main engine of all of our accomplishments. Frequently, however, strictness toward oneself becomes lowered. Why try if others could do it? Many such examples could be cited, but here is one: the deputy chairman in charge of construction of the oblast executive committee, sent a note to the manager of a Tula trust, in which he complained that the manager was being slow in repairing the roof of the building of the oblast center. The obkom personnel immediately started looking for ways how better to implement the "demands" of the deputy chairman of the oblast executive committee.

Is this an isolated case? Such an approach, unfortunately, determines the work style of most executive committees.

For the past several years preparations have been under way in the oblast for the construction of the Okskiy water supply system. Its completion would totally eliminate the acute water shortage in Tula. However, the pace of construction remains exceptionally slow. Construction work worth 1 million rubles had been planned for 1985. Not one kopek was used. Little has changed this year: so far, only 9 percent of the annual plan has been fulfilled. Naturally, the difficulties are substantial: the system is being cooperatively financed and combining the efforts of different departments is no simple matter. The customer, however, in this case the oblast executive committee, has all the necessary levers of influence to accomplish this. Does it not use them? To be fair, let us say that it has tried. It passed the proper resolutions. However there was no control, for which reason nothing changed. Such was also the case with the consumer services combine we discussed at the beginning of the article. Once again, it is the oblast party committee which must assume responsibility for the solution of the problem if a real way of speeding up this important project is to be found.

Or else let us consider housing construction. The situation here is quite stressed. During the 11th 5-year period alone the population of Tula and Tula

Oblast was shortchanged by some 647,000 square meters of planned housing. This is as though the construction workers had failed to build a single square meter of housing for an entire year. Innumerable meetings and conferences were held on construction problems. The invariable conclusion of all of them was the fact that the poor organization of the construction project was to be blamed. Meanwhile, the participants in the process managed not to notice the superb initiative which had yielded brilliant results in the neighboring oblast: the "Orel continuum," which, incidentally, had been created by Tula economists and developers. Naturally, it is not a question of prestige. The method of continuous planning and assembly line construction has offered good opportunities for the development of the sector and efforts were even made to master it. Matters, however, did not go beyond such attempts, drowning in discussions about difficulties.

Unfortunately, such a stance is quite widespread. Yet the time has come, as the saying goes, to make payment in full. The working people justifiably ask how come that words about a just social policy come from the rostrum while in fact there is stagnation and a passive attitude precisely on matters the solution of which would indicate real proof of a just social policy and concern for people.

This hits the nail on the head. Even the minimal volumes of capital investment which the oblast allocates for the development of social services through the local soviets are not being used in full. For example, last 5-year period only 81 percent of the housing plan was completed. No more than 61 and 55 percent of capital investments planned for the construction of communal economy projects were used, respectively, in 1984 and 1985.

While the extensive form of development of the national economy predominated one could still somehow "save" on social projects. The subsequent turn to intensification however instantly highlights all defects in the social support of labor and demands the immediate repayment of such "savings." Otherwise there is a loss of interest in the work and production and, consequently, a slowdown in progress. For in the final account, it is precisely through the social area that our ideals acquire a specific content. It is the social area which embodies the supreme objectives of socialism, the 27th Party Congress pointed out.

The range of problems included in a just social policy is endless. This applies not only to housing and its proper allocation, not only to the communal economy, transportation, consumer services, trade, recreation, medical care, and consumer goods. This also includes the condition of the habitat and ecology, which are among the most important structural components of social policy. They too must be the subjects of attention of the soviet agencies. The attention they must pay to them must be close and interested and their positions must be inflexible. We must be irreconcilable toward those who approach such problems with the old yardstick. Sad examples can be cited proving that problems of ecology have long been knocking at the doors of local executive committees. So far, however, they have not been allowed to cross the threshold, apparently under the assumption that any mention of the urgent need to protect nature is needless dramatizing.



It was thus that trouble came to Yasnaya Polyana--the pride of Russian culture--behind self-tranquilizing speeches. Today we must consider how to save it because in its time the oblast executive committee failed to display the necessary firmness, far-sightedness and principle-mindedness in analyzing the ecological situation which had developed around Yasnaya Polyana. Thanks to the decisive and efficient help given by the party's Central Committee and the Soviet government, today what is taking place is essentially a surgical operation on the noted Azot Association in Shchekino and a number of electric power plants, which are being converted to ecologically clean fuel. The situation in Yasnaya Polyana is stabilizing. Naturally, however, any further tolerance here would be inadmissible. Persistent efforts are needed to implement the program for improving the environment and establishing permanent control over the course of initiated projects.

A just social policy also means the firm assertion of a sober way of life. Some steps have already been taken in this area. For example, sales of alcoholic beverages have dropped by one-third in Tula Oblast. However, this was achieved essentially through prohibitions. Public opinion has not truly joined in the struggle for sobriety. It is true that in some oblast areas a system of total sobriety has been established by decision of citizens' rallies, and sales of alcoholic beverages have been halted. This is a good initiative which must be developed and grounds must be prepared for the further widening of such areas. However, we must not forget the process of improving the leisure-time industry and the organization of leisure time. In other words, everything must point to our strategic objective, which is the education of the new person.

It also happens, however, that in the bustle of daily concerns, there is no time to look around and consider the way in which our plans are being implemented, where has the proper emphasis been put and could instant advantages turn out to be harmful? Here is an example. Recently attention was drawn by a poster on a Tula street. Two motion pictures were being advertised side-by-side: "Convoy" and "Go and See." I was interested in their popularity. It turned out that the foreign "action film" was drawing twice the number of viewers (mainly young) compared with "Go and See." Yet making movies is less an industry and more a front in the struggle for man. In this case, to emphasize only the "box office" approach means a retreat in this struggle, a surrendering of party and class positions, something which must not be allowed.

The objection may be that education is the job of ideological workers and that the soviet agencies have other obligations. It is true that their work methods are different. The essence, however, the content of the activities of soviets, also contains a tremendous educational impetus. Unfortunately, some of them work in the negative. The newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA recently published the article "Not Waiting in Turn," which described violations and abuses allowed by soviet personnel in Tula Oblast in the allocation of housing. The people were not only economically harmed by society; the political consequences are terrible. More than a few managers lost their reputation. In a certain sense, faith in the local authorities was undermined and recovering from this damage will not be easy.

And what about the great harm caused by bureaucratism, excessive organization and formalism, which have sunk roots in the soviet apparatus! A disabled Great Patriotic War veteran asked a Tula rayon executive committee for help in moving to a lower floor, for climbing to the fifth floor had become difficult. This was a simple matter but the request of this frontline veteran was not even considered. His request was denied! It was only after the veteran complained to the party obkom that the latter intervened and corrected the action of the comrades. This even took a resolution by the party obkom secretariat.

Was too much attention paid to a problem which could have been solved on a routine basis? I believe the action was proper. It is not only a question of considering the case of a disabled Great Patriotic War veteran. A local soviet is the representative of the socialist state. Should it be allowed that after addressing themselves to the executive committee a Soviet citizens gain the idea that its attitude toward simple people is, so to say, simplistic or even indifferent? That was the reason for which the secretariat passed a decree on this matter.

The strictest observance and implementation of the principles of a just social policy is a two-way street. What matters here is not only to improve distribution relations. The constructive aspect is no less essential. We must not forget that only that which has been produced can be distributed. The task of the soviet authorities is precisely steadily to give a specific content to both the first part of our main principle, from each according to his capabilities, as well as to the second: to each according to his work and closely to interconnect these parts.

The social protection of the working people is the greatest accomplishment of socialism. However, rights are inseparably related to obligations. Whenever this is forgotten, shortcuts immediately appear, which dampen labor activeness and trigger dependency. This gives food for thought. The Kolkhoz imeni Karl Marks, Plavskiy Rayon, ended last year with a loss of 350,000 rubles. Meanwhile, the Kolkhoz imeni Zhdanov, in the same rayon, earned precisely the same amount. It is true that the wages of the kolkhoz members of the two farms were different: those who had worked at a loss earned more. Naturally, both sensibly ask: Under such conditions, what is the point of working well?

#### Time Dictates the Style

Nothing is too petty when it affects the interests of the individual. It is on the basis of such positions that the oblast party organization is conducting the reorganization today. It is in the same spirit that we guide the activities of the local soviets. Our main attention is focused on perfecting their work style. The criteria of this style are initiative, efficiency and purposefulness. There have been many appeals to improve the style and nothing is unclear as to what should be done in order to upgrade the combativeness of executive committees. To this day, however, complaints are heard on the passive attitude of the soviets. Again and again they must be urged on and directed to the most important objectives. Why is it that the initiatives of the soviets continues to be low? What is it that is preventing them from developing fully?

Without claiming a definitive answer, let us consider this matter. I believe that some answers to such questions should be sought in the level, the style of the party's leadership of the soviets and the nature of relations between party and executive committees. Here is the typical plot: a high-ranking member of the oblast executive committee assigned to a project in a rayon, begins with a visit to the raykom party secretary. If any time is left he visits the rayon executive committee as well. As to a rural or settlement Soviet, such guests are not seen for years. Should such a visit be paid, nevertheless, the most that can happen is that the chairman of the rural soviet executive committee is summoned to the office of the kolkhoz chairman where the high-ranking guest is sitting, and is given instructions.

The trouble is that some party committees, justifiably referring to the passive attitude of executive committees, are nevertheless in no hurry to "return to them" the solution of problems, most of them economic, which they have taken over. They have become accustomed to solve such problems and relying on the powerful party authority makes such solutions incomparably easier. Such executive committees, which have been "pushed" aside are contributing to shading, to emphasizing the exceptional efficiency of the party committee. However, frequently such efficiency ignores the main problems of the activities of this party agency, which are political. No time is left to deal with them. Meanwhile, the managers of executive committees have become accustomed to address themselves to the party committee for trifles, not daring independently to undertake the solution of even the simplest economic problem. You must agree that however many appeals are made in such a situation to display initiative, no initiative will take place. There will be simply obedience, and the constant waiting for the latest instruction and directives. This is not a very attractive situation! However sad it is to acknowledge this, it is largely due to the faulty work style of party committees. This is especially noticeable in rural party raykoms.

What happens is that a great deal is being said about working in a new style and about the division of functions; meanwhile, the forces of inertia, the old habits continue to operate, unwilling to yield to the pressure of contemporary requirements. We believe that it is very important for everyone to understand fully that the authority of the party committee, the protection of which sometimes becomes almost an end within itself, will become the greater the more the authority of the soviets is enhanced, for the latter can act energetically in all areas of economic and social building.

The following view has been heard as well: What could be expected of the soviets if the party machinery recruits the best cadres? Naturally, this is a problem. However, the situation is not all that dramatic. Are we poor in honest, capable and energetic people? What matters is to be able to find them and, which is even more important, to create conditions which would bring to light their full creative potential. What is needed here is a system, an intelligent cadre policy. Today we are trying to formulate approaches in our work with cadres which would be consistent with the spirit of the time. The practice is that of strengthening the executive committees of soviets with personnel who acquired their training as members of party committees, which includes the oblast party committee. We have begun to promote quite actively within the soviets the best members of the party apparatus. Thus, N.

Milyayev, former instructor in the organizational-party work of the party obkom, became chairman of the Yefremov City Executive Committee. He learned his job quickly and established proper relations with Yu. Venediktov, party gorkom first secretary. The young chairman began by organizing the formulation of a 2-year plan for the social renovation of one of the major cities in the oblast. It is true that many such plans had been drafted in the past as well. As a rule, however, they remained on paper only. The specific feature of the new program is that it was presented for broad discussion by the town residents and it was with their approval that the document was enacted.

On his recommendations several party obkom instructors have been transferred to the soviets. As a rule, the benefits become immediately apparent. In turn, the party gorkoms and raykoms are strengthening other sections of soviet work by assigning to them personnel from their own apparatus.

We are trying to revive the counterprocess as well: promoting soviet personnel within the party apparatus. Naturally, this is not simply a matter of trading cadres. The purpose is to introduce in the party agencies people who are thoroughly familiar with the work of soviets. We hope that it is precisely they who will bring a fresh spirit in the party's leadership of the soviets. Such was the case, for example, in Donskoy City. The city executive committee was headed by a former party obkom instructor, while the city party committee was assigned to the former chairman of the gorispolkom. This is no isolated case. The party obkom intends to continue to promote to leading positions in party committees people familiar with the work of the soviets.

Naturally, this approach to cadre selection and placement involves a certain risk. It may happen that party work will not be enriched by this method and that, conversely, the purely economic principles of work may be strengthened, for those who have joined the party agency, coming from the soviet apparatus, are familiar from the inside with the effect of many stereotypes in its work, including some which are poor copies of economic management methods. Nor is it a secret that bureaucratic administration and pressure earn to some officials the reputation of being strong managers who can solve one problem or another without particular efforts. The price of such solutions is not always considered. It is easier to order than to persuade. Therefore, an official lacking proper political knowledge can yield, even in his new position, to the temptation of using methods which are deeply alien to party activities and feel the taste of easy victories.

The duty of the oblast party committee and its departments is to take a close look at processes and trends which are gathering strength in the course of the reorganization of the work of party gorkoms and raykoms and soviet ispolkoms. It is important to note the point at which a political approach begins to yield to bureaucratic administration, or when it is replaced with methods of economic management, and to correct such situations quickly.

The reorganization is a complex process and, to many, a painful one. Particularly important under these circumstances is an atmosphere of self-discipline and responsibility, which must prevail in all areas of our life without exception. This increases the requirements of party members working

in the soviets. The party committees have begun to hear more frequently reports submitted by party members on their activities in the soviets. Today the party groups in the soviets are gaining a "second wind." A number of instructions still assign them a somewhat passive role. It is recommended, as we know, that they meet only whenever necessary. With such loose criteria, naturally, we should not expect any energizing of such groups. We have decided to ignore the existing instructions and to plan the activities of the party groups in the soviets.

By the end of last year the party group in the oblast soviet heard a report submitted B. Chen, who is a party member and a deputy and general director of the Tul'skiy Kombaynovyy Zavod Association, on the implementation of the resolutions passed at the oblast soviet session on the question of the permanent commission. This question was not asked accidentally. The point is that the association's management was not paying proper attention to school reform. The party group had to explain to the director that it was not a question of purely school matters but, essentially, of the enterprise's future. This discussion was instructive not only to B. Chen alone. Many deputies-party members drew proper conclusions and became better aware of questions asked by deputies and their place in solving vital social problems.

We plan to hear at a meeting of the party group of the oblast soviet a report submitted by communist-soviet Deputy A. Meshcheryakov, chairman of the oblast industrial committee, on the course of the social reorganization of the countryside, a report by P. Zhabolenko, chairman of the Novomoskovskiy Rayon Executive Committee, on the efforts to establish in the rayon a sober way of life, and reports by other party members who are soviet deputies, on various aspects of their activities.

In an effort maximally to concentrate existing forces and possibilities on the solution of the main problems, we have adopted the rule of strictly observing three most important principles of new-style work: systematic approach, the method of the specific action and assessment of practical results. It is these criteria that help us to carry out the reorganization, taking into consideration present requirements without forgetting the future.

Following the example of the Leningrad people, we have formulated and are already implementing the "Intensification-12" territorial-sectorial program. It includes 11 comprehensive target programs which cover the main trends of the oblast's economic and social development. The program gives priority to the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and to upgrading production quality. The oblast's industrial potential is high and raising it further is difficult. The only way is to increase returns on what we already have. The approach to solving this problem is clear. It is the Shchekino method, which has already helped us to save on the labor of tens of thousands of working people. Its ideas and principles are entirely consistent with the strategy of acceleration. Therefore, we are considering not to put this method in reserve but to give it a new content consistent with present requirements. We also intend to develop the initiative of the machine builders in Proletarskiy Rayon in Tula on the comprehensive solution of the problem of upgrading production quality. The initiators themselves have reached a production of items bearing the Emblem of Quality to the nearly 100

percent level. The task now is, on the basis of acquired experience, to mount in the oblast a mass quality campaign. I believe that Levsha's descendants have the spirit and the strength to attain the highest possible levels.

"The first year of the 5-year period," the CPSU Central Committee appeal to the working people of the Soviet Union emphasizes, "is a practical test for all labor collectives and an investigation of the practical course of the reconstruction and the extent to which its ideas have been adopted and are being implemented." This test will be the more successful the more we are able to bring to light the creative potential of every Soviet person. It is on this that the oblast party organization is working, with the help of the soviets of people's deputies.

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In My Opinion....Letters to the Editors

## TO UNDERTAKE A REAL 'INVENTORY' OF THE EARTH'S MINERAL RESOURCES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 86 (signed to press 10 Oct 86) pp 52-53

[Letter to the Editors by A. Kunarev, candidate of technical sciences]

[Text] In my opinion, the approach to the study of the earth's mineral resources and to identifying the reserves of nonrenewable mineral and raw material resources must be changed.

The existing system for conducting geological exploration evolved historically as a combination of methods, not bound by common principle or common goal, for prospecting for specific minerals. The respective services of the ministries and departments (USSR Ministry of Geology, USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy, Ministry of Petroleum Industry, Ministry of Gas Industry, etc.) explore for and extract only "their own" mineral. Each one of them, proceeding on the basis of narrowly specialized objectives, drills "its own" wells on the same territory, conducts "its own" geophysical surveys, drills "its own" tunnels, etc. In the search for and extraction of petroleum, they ignore parallel valuable ore deposits. The wells are being drilled for the sole purpose of obtaining the "black gold." It is believed that in crystallized ores one should search exclusively for metal rather than petroleum, for petroleum "may not be found" there. However, a growing array of data confirm its existence in crystalline strata and even under them. As a rule, such facts are being ignored (as, for example, finding oil in "nontraditional" seams in the Nonchernozem), and classified as oddities.

The ground is the main source of mineral raw materials which, once extracted, become the basic materials for all industrial sectors and for the production--directly or indirectly--of most commodities. Yet, with increasing frequency, we realize the natural limitation and nonrecoverability of concentrated accumulations (deposits) of individual types of minerals. We are forced to survey and mine increasingly leaner ores, which are sometimes so lean as to make it difficult to distinguish between the location of ore and useless rock. Nor should we forget the fact that steady improvements are being made not only in the methods for searching for mineral raw materials but also that essentially new technologies for their extraction are being developed for deep drilling and full processing, such as laser drilling, metal smelting directly in the shafts, leaching (pumping chemicals into the well, which dissolves the ore and brings it up to the surface as a liquid concentrate). All of this may



subsequently lead to a situation in which essentially any rock will become a mineral resource and all components, without exception, of mineral raw materials, everything containing elements from Mendeleev's Table of Elements will be used (naturally, taking into consideration the possibility and economical expediency of extracting, processing and using them within a specific time segment).

We are continuing to search only for the type of deposits in which the ore needed by a specific sector is found in higher concentrations. Although the volume of surveys nearly doubled between 1970 and 1980, their efficiency cannot be considered adequate (on an average, no more than 2 percent of outcrops of minerals and geophysical and geochemical anomalies have been classified of late as deposits). The reason is that surface deposits have become essentially exhausted. Looking for promising areas for geological prospecting without any clear direction, even with the most advanced methods and equipment, becomes very difficult.

Here is an analogy. Would we consider letting several procurement officials enter an ordinary warehouse together, who, pushing and shoving each other would blindly undertake to look on the shelves for specific items they need, trampling underfoot something needed by others? Is it possible to count only nuts and ignore bolts? Is it possible to have an inventory list which would not include all available commodities? It would be stupid and even ridiculous to imagine such a thing! Yet in terms of mineral resources, alas, such is the case. Emotions aside, this is the greatest possible negligence!

Geological surveyors must undertake scrupulously and systematically a true "inventory" of the vast "blocks" of our mineral resources, not bypassing, due to the needs of the moment, or even out of simple ignorance, any "shelf", any "rack" of the national, the state "warehouse."

In the search for deposits, the structure and composition of the individual mineral resource "blocks" and sectors have been studied for decades and even centuries. The results of each geological study (survey, geochemical, geophysical and space-geological study, deep-well drilling, etc.) now add up to a comprehensive and, frequently, multiple-volume report, maps of the ground structure and tables; books and articles have been published on the subject. Such data, each one of which is a separate "line" or "page" of that same inventory of the nonexistent state survey of mineral resources, probably run into the hundreds of thousands if not millions. Not all of them are in order. However, even if such data could be summed up and "bound" in a huge volume, its use would be quite difficult. Clearly, a state ground survey should be based on modern computers, as a data bank.

Taking this new objective of geological surveys into consideration, it would be expedient to reorient ourselves to the study of everything contained in the subsoil, regardless of whether or not there are extensive "blocks" of mineral deposits as we understand them today (there was a time when no one assumed that alumina, which looks like simple clay, would eventually turn into aluminum ore). The new approach, we believe, could be the following: the country's territory would be divided according to geographic coordinates into a grid of areas (such as 10 x 10 or 100 x 100 square kilometers). A thorough

"inventory" of mineral resources would be made for each such "block" (its depth would be limited to admissible depth of wells). The geological information thus acquired would be systematized and processed with the help of a computer and entered into the survey.

The creation of such a survey is by no means a simple matter. This would take many years of work and, possibly, more than one 5-year period. However, it must be undertaken without delay. Otherwise there will be so much data that it would turn out to be simpler to engage in a new survey instead of look for what we need. A survey is necessary in order to optimize the efficient consumption of minerals and ensure the national economy against any mineral-raw material crises or losses which may incur due to the lack of information on the availability of rare or gradually exhausted reserves of traditional raw materials. This will enable us to develop new technologies on time and to replace old ones.

As the survey is increased, the space-time patterns and relations characterizing the actual distribution of natural substances in geological space, now hiding behind a huge amount of data, will be manifested and traced. This will substantiate better the strategy of geological surveys (where precisely, in what order and with what technical means to study mineral resources). Forecasts concerning the quantity and quality of surveyed deposits, complex and lying deep underground, will become most precise. The possibility will appear of a detailed study of such "blocks" to be submitted to the mining departments, ready for use. Finally, such information would stimulate scientific research for new technologies for the processing of nontraditional types of mineral ores.

Obviously, we should also change the approach to the planning of geological surveys. It would be expedient to introduce within the system of planned indicators (alongside proven reserves of specific minerals), the extent of the study of geological space per single "block." In turn, this would require solving many methodological and practical problems, such as setting criteria for individual "block" studies, determining the types and extent of geological surveys (drilling wells, shafts, etc.), the further study of the mineral raw materials within a given "cube," and planning and rating such work.

The creation of similar surveys for other natural projects and sources of natural raw materials, such as the land, rivers, forests, etc., and their classification within a single system of state surveys of natural resources would enable us to engage in comprehensive observations (monitoring) of the condition of the environment and to ensure the sensible and ecologically balanced utilization of nature, including environmental protection steps (such as recultivation of the land).

Scientists and personnel of the respective establishments and departments and the scientific and technical public should express their views on such problems.

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## STRENGTHENING TIES WITH PRODUCTION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 86 (signed to press 10 Oct 86) p 54

[Letter to the editors by N. Karelskaya, teacher, Moscow Electrical Engineering Technicum]

[Text] In my opinion, in order to improve the quality of training of technical specialists we must restructure relations between technical schools and enterprises, which are the practical base for training and for which we are training the cadres. Contracts currently signed between schools and plants do not insure their reciprocal interest. About 300 people graduate from our technicum every year. All of them go to work at enterprises of the electrical engineering industry. We have no direct relations and do not exchange views on ways to improve the training of specialties with many plants and do not follow up the work of our alumni. Ask any teacher today where his former students work and how they work. You would not be able always to obtain an answer. In my long years of work in the technicum I do not recall a case of receiving a letter from an enterprise rating the quality of training of our alumni. Yet this is our "output." How is the quality of teaching assessed and who assesses it today? Actually, we do it ourselves! We grade the students and all of our discussions and reports are based on the grades. Should anyone among us wish to increase requirements which, naturally, could lower good grades, we become alarmed and proclaim that such a teacher is lowering the quality of training. Is this the case? Could it be that, actually, this will improve the level of knowledge of the students?

In the course of time, by virtue of demographic reasons and in connection with decline in the prestige of engineering and technical professions, competitiveness in the technicum has been declining. Of late it has virtually become closer to the figure one, which means that there is no competition whatsoever any longer. The teacher's task is to have at least one secondary school senior enroll in a technicum.

Clearly, this situation will remain for the next few years and may even worsen. The enrollment plan has not been reduced. In this connection, the time has come to think of taking practical steps to reorganize our work which, frankly, has still not been undertaken, although something has already been accomplished in improving material training facilities. The main thing for us today is to establish relations with industry on a new basis and to upgrade

competitiveness in the training process as one of the foundations for stimulating the work of students and teachers.

The school must be well-informed of the requirements of enterprises for which it is training specialties. In a case of electrical machine building plants, the technical school must know in advance the needs of the enterprises for technologists. It would be very good to know the specific type of work the graduate will be doing in a shop or section. The lack of such information frequently reduces to naught the value of narrow specialization in the senior grade, although a large number of hours in the curriculum are assigned for such training.

I believe that ties with enterprises must begin at the very first stage, in the course of the vocational guidance offered in secondary schools and the selection of their graduates. From the very first courses, the students in a technical school must know where they will work after their graduation. Their scholarships should be differentiated and their diplomas based on the quality of their training. The grade entered in the diploma should determine the future earnings of the young specialist. What happens today is the following: occasionally poor students find better-higher paid jobs compared to students who have displayed better abilities and have worked harder.

The practical training of the students begins the second year. The enterprises frequently assign them not to the advanced departments and sections equipped with modern tools, but where ever bottlenecks exist, with piles of nonmechanized work which regular personnel refuse to do. How can the student develop love for his future profession in this case? Conversely, he develops the desire for a change!

These and many other problems could be solved if the school is converted to cost accounting relations with enterprises. This would enable us to provide a truly objective rating of the quality of the "output" we produce--the level of training of the specialist--and properly to assess the work of the teacher, making his earnings dependent on end results. Today such earnings depend on the number of students or, in the language of economics, the "gross output."

In order to strengthen ties between industry and the training process in technical schools and to improve the quality of student training, new standard long-term contracts must be drawn up, which would clearly stipulate reciprocal obligations and joint responsibility in the training of young specialist.

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## HIGHER SCHOOL TRAINING OF ECONOMISTS

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[Letter to the editors by V. Borodatyy, rector of the Odessa Institute of the National Economy, dr of economic sciences, professor; A. Goldberg, head of the statistics department, dr of economic sciences, professor]

[Text] In our opinion, the higher school today does not ensure the training of economic cadres meeting the requirement of radically improving economic work at the present stage. We would like to mention some problems which arise in this connection.

Above all, let us point out the lack of proper attention paid to the vital problems of the status and prospects of development of higher economics schools. They lack suitable material facilities. They are unsuitably equipped with modern computers, and the statistical, standarizing and instruction materials they receive are extremely insufficient. It is no secret that industrial enterprises and construction projects pay considerably more attention to student trainees coming from technical VUZs, to whom they provide work places and whom they try to retain as young specialists; the attitude shown toward students who are graduates of economic VUZs is one of indifference. Let us emphasize that the training of economists in VUZs is quite fragmented, regardless of the specific requirements and needs of the individual economic and cultural sectors, management authorities and scientific research, design and engineering organizations. The higher economic schools operating in the country (there are 51 of them) are frequently distinguished only by their names, for they train specialists in the same specialties. Man enginerting and economic departments of technical and agricultural VUZs train economists not only for specific sectors but as generalists as well.

The economic VUZs are experiencing significant difficulties in assigning their graduates, and ensuring their apprenticeship and skill upgrading. One would think that the central economic departments would be more interested than others in hiring young specialists. However, for many years the following paradox has prevailed: graduates who have specialized in "National Economic Planning," "Finance and Credit," and "Labor Economics" are assigned to enterprises instead of to respective planning and financial agencies, whereas

graduates of engineering-economic VUZs and departments are assigned to administrative agencies and state institutions.

We believe that the USSR Gosplan and USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education should make a thorough study of the entire set of problems related to developing a network of economic VUZs: their specialization, location, quantitative and qualitative structure of teaching scientific cadres, condition of their material base and possibilities of strengthening them. Based on the results of such a study, it would be expedient to establish a clear differentiation among VUZs training students in different areas.

Such differentiation would enable us to optimize the training process, intensify the general theoretical and professional training of the students, develop efficient curriculums, significantly upgrade the results of practical training and course and diploma works, and maximally subordinate all of this to practical needs and requirements. By reducing and consolidating the list of economic specialties, it would be possible to organize the training of economic generalists, who would be conceptually mature and would possess a high level of general scientific and professional knowledge. To this effect we should above all ensure quality training in basic subjects within the general theoretical and methodological cycle, such as Marxist-Leninist philosophy, political economy, national economic planning, the theory and methodology of management, and analysis of economic activities. Particular attention should be paid to the need radically to improve the statistical-mathematical training of future economists. Without knowledge of theory and methodology of statistics which, in V.I. Lenin's familiar definition, is one of the most powerful weapons in social knowledge, it would be difficult to analyze objectively and reliably economic and social processes, scientifically to substantiate our current plans and long-term forecasts, and identify reserves for the growth of the economy and culture and the upsurge of the people's well-being. This is an important factor in upgrading the level of competence of our cadres and improving all economic work in the national economy, without which the implementation of the party's economic strategy, formulated by the 27th CPSU Congress, would be impossible.

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## DISCUSSIONS AND DEBATES

### THE LAW OF VALUE IN SOCIALIST ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 86 (signed to press 10 Oct 86) pp 56-63

[Article by K. Mikulskiy, doctor of economic sciences]

[Text] V. Kulikov's article "Commodity-Monetary Relations in the Concept of Acceleration" (KOMMUNIST, No 12, 1986) deals with the most crucial problems of perfecting the socialist economic system. Economists have not reached a unanimous opinion on many of them, which is adversely affecting the practical implementation of the party's strategy of converting to anti-outlay economic management methods. Mastery of the levers of acceleration, related to the more active utilization of commodity-monetary relations, largely depends on the proper understanding of the law of value and its functions and place in the socialist economic system. In the article we mentioned such problems are merely mentioned. We shall try to expand this topic somewhat.

#### Once More on Prejudices in Theory

Views have accumulated in Soviet economic science, which essentially belittle the significance of observing the requirements of the law of value in the functioning of the socialist economy, turn it into a formality and reduce its functions to one of "accountability," treating it exclusively as an uncontrolled factor in terms of value indicators, as something which has been introduced within the socialist economy from the outside and which almost hinders efficient economic management, etc. Although, as problems of the efficiency of the socialist economy became more complex, the CPSU called increasingly for the need to use the law of value and to take its requirements into consideration, neither the science of economics nor the practice of economic management suitably reacted. In this case theory must take a sharp turn to radically improving the political and economic substantiations leading to taking practical steps for the reorganization of the economic mechanism and in order to provide ideological clarity in the assessment of such steps.

The law of value is the law of commodity production, which expresses the objective need to direct the production process and trade toward proportions which reflect socially necessary labor outlays. Value is a form of manifestation of such outlays, based on reducing the specific types of labor to abstract labor and complex labor to simple labor; it is a method for



regulating relations between commodity producers in the course of the exchange of activities.

The law of value operates in various systems; in each one of them it plays a subordinate, a "servicing" role in their own economic laws. This law does not pertain to those which express the basic social nature of one system or another, and its specific manifestations are determined by the basic economic law of the specific production method.

We believe that views on the law of value as an exclusive source of anarchy and lack of control in the economy, a reason for the wasteful competitive confrontation among unorganized commodity producers, a factor which undermines the interests of the national economy as a whole, etc., are the consequence of the improper absolutizing of its manifestations inherent in capitalist reality and a result of the lack of understanding of its initial functions and of the extent of the historical range of their modifications. In itself, the law of value expresses the quality of criteria on the basis of which relations between commodity producers are based. It indicates the equivalency of the exchange of activities between them. It does not indicate in the least with absolute necessity the existence of relations of exploitation of man by man. It is only under specific historical conditions, such as the alienation of the worker from the means of production and on the basis of relations of capitalist ownership, that its effect becomes an important element in the exploitation process. Under the conditions of the new system, this law inevitably assumes a modification which enables it to become part of the mechanism of the functioning of the socialist economy, by no means clashing with its basic essential features.

In studying the law of value, however, it is insufficient simply to point out that it is not "counterindicated" to socialism. It is much more important to determine the extent to which it is "necessary," and whether or not the laws it expresses actually exist in our society and is the observance of such laws a necessary prerequisite for the normal development of the socialist economy. In this context we must, first of all, provide a sharp critical evaluation of opinions according to which the possibility of managing regardless of the stipulations of the law of value is an advantage of socialism. Secondly, would it not be an exaggeration to say that violations of the law of value have not simply become widespread but have become the rule than the exception in many areas of economic practice. It is no accident that in one 5-year period after another the party documents have indicated the need for taking more into consideration socially necessary outlays in price setting and establishing a better link between physical and value proportions.

Nonetheless, would it be justified to assume that the law of value conflicts with "strictly socialist" economic laws as a useless, if not harmful, feature in the development of the socialist economy within this contradiction and, therefore, doomed to elimination? Could it be that it is a temporarily inevitable factor, the effect of which must be limited for the sake of lifting existing obstacles on the way to establishing the direct social nature of labor, planned proportionality in the economy, etc? It is precisely such (albeit somewhat exaggerated) interpretations of the law of value that are still encountered and are substantially influencing the theory and practice of

socialist economic management. In order to qualify them, it would suffice to list only a few consequences of this influence: for a long time science found it difficult to describe and concretize means of organically interlinking social, collective and individual interests, indicating efficient means of upgrading production efficiency and balancing the economy; practical experience proved the lack of adequate ability for a reorientation toward intensive sources of economic growth, elimination shortages and mastery of the necessary levers for ensuring the implementation of plans.

Naturally, such shortcomings cannot be explained at all simply in terms of violations of the requirements of the law of value. Nevertheless, such violations are by no means the least important in this case. The point is that the inability to take into consideration such requirements or to ignore them altogether, does not widen but narrows the possibility of applying the sum total of economic laws of socialism; it does not strengthen but weakens the advantages of the socialist economy. Naturally, value relations and factors are not the foundations of such advantages. However, they are an inseparable component of many of the social mechanisms applied in their practical implementation. That is why we must agree with V. Kulikov to the effect that we must intensify the "integration" between commodity-monetary relations and direct social relations within the framework of the single system of socialist production relations and that at the present stage one of the prerequisites for such integration is the "elimination of artificial restrictions in the functioning of such relations and the further enhancement and improve the efficiency of their application..." (p 16).

Equally unjustified are efforts to belittle the significance of the use of the law of value under socialism, governed by considerations according to which under communism this law will become invalid, for commodity production will wither away and public labor will be gauged directly in terms of working time. The point is that, to begin with, the specific features of the lower phase of communism must be developed before losing their validity, in order for the full creative potential of this phase to be realized. This is a mandatory prerequisite of the conversion to the higher phase. It is also a question of commodity-monetary relations which operate on a socialist basis and of the effect and utilization of the law of value in the system of socialist economic laws. Secondly, with the conversion to the higher phase of communism, the need to define, as Marx said, "the quantitative limit of that share of the public working time which can be expediently spent on various specific production areas..." will become even greater (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 25, part II, p 186). The breakdown of social labor by sector and production area and a comparison among outlays of different specific types of labor and a correlation between costs and the socially necessary standard for the recovery of resources for the sake of reproduction will all be retained even in the most distant future. The experience acquired in the use of the law of value which has been gained under socialism will therefore remain quite useful in setting up the mechanism of communist economic management.

#### On the Functions of the Law of Value Under Socialism

We already mentioned the "service" role of the law of value under the conditions of a given type of retained commodity production by the social

system and the inclusion of said law in the relevant system of economic laws. Therefore, the effect of the law of value under socialism should be described, in our view, above all in terms of its role in the implementation of the basic functions of the entire system of socialist economic laws. There are three such functions.

The socially organizing function. The collectivistic nature of the orientation of public production is ensured and one of the most important features of socialism--the interdependence between the satisfaction of the interests of society as a whole and of each of its individual members--is established by eliminating the alienation of the worker from the means of production. In this context, the law of value plays a significant role in giving an economic (i.e., oriented toward the efficient utilization of resources) content to economic relations between society (the state as the representative of its interests) and the labor collectives (the economic units), among the labor collectives themselves and between collectives and individual working people. This law supplies socialism with important economic tools for implementing, strengthening and developing the real socialization of the production process, which means (unlike the juridical aspect of public ownership) the close and efficient interaction among economic units and between them and the country's economic center, and nationwide cooperation in the production process, which lays a foundation for unity of in the activities of its participants and which ensure the optimal combination among the interests of society, the collective and the individual worker.

In other words, a consideration of the law of value and the method and criteria it dictates in determining the socially necessary labor outlays help to direct the national economic plans toward upgrading the efficiency of public production as a whole and of its individual units and enhances the economic significance of nationwide planning. Naturally, this should not be interpreted as an alienation from social expediency. Despite existing contradictions between economic and social efficiency, it is important to bear in mind their essential commonality which develops under socialism. It is based on the fact that under the conditions of social ownership the growth of economic efficiency leads to increased social returns from the production process and that it is subordinate to the social criteria and the observance of social priorities.

Underestimating the role of commodity-monetary relations and value factors in the organization of economically efficient management, as we emphasized, has sunk deep roots in the minds of a number of economists. V. Kulikov himself pays a certain "due" to it although, let us particularly emphasize, this is done despite the overall concept of the article under discussion. This was manifested in the fact that, in discussing problems of the protection by superior agencies of "'their own' poorly working enterprises and associations," he ascribes an importance, unjustifiably great in our view, to "extradepartmental control" over the efficiency of labor collectives and, in particular, the "bank's rating of poorly working economic units as insolvent" (p 19).

We believe that this should not be a matter of such "rating" or of any consequent concentration of the attention of the public "on economic units in

which an exceptional situation has developed" or the on the mandatory nature of "predetermined penalties" and the creation of "interdepartmental commissions with exceptional rights to correct the existing situation, replace organization managers, etc." (ibid). Neither "commissions" nor anyone's "exceptional" administrative rights but the reality of the economic environment and the objective economic management conditions themselves under which the enterprise function should irreversibly force the labor collective to engage in efficient work from the social viewpoint, to put an end to a parasitical existence at the expense of society and to social dependence. This requires, above all, the systematic "activating" of the lever of collective and individual incentive, which make the size of incentive and wage enterprise funds strictly dependent on the end results of the efforts of the collective. Until quite recently a procedure existed in our economic practice according to which the enterprise could be declared insolvent. This step, however, yielded no results, for the conversion to a special financing system was not strengthened by any whatsoever efficient "control by the ruble."

The socially stimulating function is closely related to the socially organizing one. The law of value serves the processes of distribution which encourage a consideration of the quantity and quality of economic activities and the end results achieved by the participants in public production. It is a question of distribution in the broad meaning of the term: resources allocated by society to the economic units for direct production use and circulating among economic units in the course of reciprocal exchange of activities; and consumer goods obtained by the workers as a reward for their labor. In objectively defining the criteria of distribution, based on the consideration of labor returns, the collectives and the individual members of society and the mutual profitability of trading activities among economic units, the law of value becomes part of the implementation of the principle of social justice and stimulates efforts aimed at upgrading economic efficiency and work quality.

In this connection, we consider unquestionable V. Kulikov's thesis that under socialism material incentive assumes an importance which, in a certain sense, is even greater than under capitalism, "for it is not supplemented by unemployment" (p 20). However, a question which the author of the article does not discuss especially arises: Can socialism meet this obligation? We share the viewpoint according to which the specific nature of the socialist principle of distribution according to labor can and must operate as a stimulus much more efficiently than the specifically capitalist principle of compensating for the cost of manpower. However, in order to ensure the full implementation of such stimulating potential, we believe it absolutely necessary firmly to reject the still popular dogmatic concepts of equalization as a manifestation of socialist social justice and the unacceptability in our society of individual income which significantly exceeds the typical level, and the fact that in itself individual income is a criterion for classifying it as "earned" or "unearned."

The social guarantee function is implemented through the law of value less clearly but nevertheless quite substantially. Observing the requirements of this law (closely interacting with the law of planned and proportional development, which we shall discuss later) directs socialist production toward

the criteria of economic efficiency and, consequently, is a major prerequisite in developing production forces and strengthening the "resource base" for the fuller application of the basic economic law of socialism. This is the main "contribution" which the law of value makes to the implementation of the function of socialist social relations acting as a guarantee.

However, let us note yet another aspect of this "participation." The equivalency of the exchange of activities in accordance with socially necessary outlays, stipulated by the law of value, is a kind of social guarantee for successfully working enterprises protecting them from unjustified redistribution of the funds they have earned. This aspect of the law of value assumes particular importance under the conditions of the development of the new economic mechanism and also contributes to the observance of socialist social justice. The latter is achieved by including in the socialist reproduction process value stimuli. The law of value gives society powerful economic levers for attaining its planned objectives. We would like to stress this point in particular, for the tasks formulated in the documents of the 27th CPSU Congress regarding a further economic upsurge have raised most urgently the question of drastically expanding the use of economic management methods.

Equally important in terms of the theory and practice of socialist economic management is accurately answering the question of does the law of value have any regulatory influence on the economy and if it does, in what specific sense. In our view, the main line which must be followed in solving the problem is the following:

The law of value is not the main regulator of socialist production, unlike the basic economic law. The regulatory function of the latter is implemented above all through the mechanism of the law of planned and proportional development. To exert a decisive regulatory influence on the economy means to formulate the main objectives of its development and, above all, to define its social orientation. The law of value, as we pointed out, cannot perform such functions in any system, even less so under socialism. In this connection, it is useful to remember that even under capitalism the law of added value is not a simple "modification" of the law of value but a different law which expresses relations which, although appearing on the basis of the latter, have their own specific content--the exploitation of labor by capital.

The stipulations of the law of value, nevertheless, "participate" in the regulatory processes of the socialist economy as follows: value categories help us to test the economic substantiation of national economic solutions. The use of such categories is not a random but a deliberately organized activity, which must become organically part of the overall process of centralized national economic management, which includes the creation of rules, conditions and incentives within the framework of the economic autonomy of enterprises. Management means the implementation by society, its central authorities in particular, of the task of increasingly better ensuring the socio-organizational and material and technical conditions for highly productive toil by the workers who are members of the association. This is achieved through centralized measures (such as centralized capital investments aimed at balancing the economy and ensuring its radical structural

reorganization) and stimulating the corresponding trends in the activities of labor collectives and workers through the use of production cost levers.

We believe that primary among the problems of accelerating the growth of production efficiency are problems solved on the national economic level. That is why upgrading the quality of the work and responsibility of "superior" agencies of economic management, central in particular, is essential. This is because under contemporary economic conditions upgrading the autonomy of an enterprise can be efficient only if the enterprise operates within a well-organized national economic "environment." The latter should, on the one hand, be free from artificially restricting the initiative of economic units and, on the other, provide the necessary conditions for directing said initiative toward the primary satisfaction of social interests.

#### The Law of Value and Contradictions in the Socialist Economy

The effect of the law of value, as that of any other economic law, is related to certain contradictions and is implemented through them, restraining or stimulating them. Here as well the following question arises: Does the law of value conflict with the law of planned and proportional development? Let us note, above all, that today planning increasingly encompasses not only direct production assignments of enterprises (the need for which is not reduced in the least) but also the standard obligations of enterprises to society, set by the center, in terms of the level of the effectiveness of utilization of resources, the purpose of which is to make the work of the enterprises consistent with the interests of society. In this sense, pitting planning against the use of value categories and levers becomes unnecessary. Such use becomes a necessary element of centralized economic management which, at the same time, flexibly ensures the material incentive of the enterprise and the individual workers. Furthermore, a number of crucial problems lie along this way, the main one of which is the creation of a mechanism for determining the necessary production costs, consistent with socialism, and forcing the producers to be guided by them. Inherent in socialism is not only the planned ("preproduction") determination of socially necessary outlays but also the further refining and concretizing of the latter at all reproduction stages, including trade and consumption.

Acknowledging the need to consider in the plan the requirements governing the development of all types of production needed by society (and the creation of proper economic conditions) and the importance of stimulating the growth of economic efficiency (orientation toward socially necessary labor outlays) were not the least important factor in the current more accurate understanding of the tangible role of value factors and criteria in the process of planning and managing the socialist economy. On the other hand, we must remember that unlike the spontaneous shaping of proportions, the planned method in achieving them makes them stabler, requires fewer outlays, enables us to combine economic with social criteria of proportionality and of current and long-term tasks, etc.

The law of value also "participates" in shaping the requirements of the law of planned and proportional development and influences many of its aspects. In particular, it allows us to use value levers in ensuring specific rates and



proportions in the development of the economy, being directly related to the objective mechanism of formulating and satisfying interests on the different levels of the national economy. As such, it also "services" the implementation of the requirements of the law of planning. With a proper scientific substantiation of the plan, the effect of the law of value does not introduce elements of spontaneity in the development of public production but, conversely, gives society the necessary economic levers for meeting the objective of socioeconomic development. Without being the main regulatory agent of socialist production, the law of value includes a certain "measure" of equivalency in the exchange of activities in the national economy, formulates one of the criteria of economic efficiency and determines the possibility of taking comprehensively into consideration and controlling economic parameters in the functioning of all production units. Defining the developing values, an orientation toward a universal resource conservation system and maintaining optimal value proportions, which are vitally necessary in the case of expanded reproduction, are among the main prerequisites for the scientific substantiation of our plans.

Elements of "negative" contradiction between the law of planned and proportional development and the law of value are detected only when an urgent social need objectively arises for changes in the ratios of production and the production structure which cannot be met merely on the basis of the law of value. In situations, the plan must include ratios needed to satisfy the corresponding requirements, even if they are substantially different from the criteria of socially necessary outlays, equivalency, etc. This takes place whenever it becomes absolutely impossible to use an alternative approach to the solution of the problem or to satisfy or not to satisfy a specific social need, and the extent to which it should be satisfied depending on the size of the estimated costs.

It would be erroneous to belittle the scale of economic activities in which the alternative approach based on value criteria is unacceptable. This applies, above all, to the most important, to the priority objective of social development. Major strategic decisions, dictated by the need for drastically accelerating socioeconomic progress, are made precisely on the basis of social rather than cost criteria. Nevertheless, the law of value unquestionably plays an essential role in the choice and ways of achieving such objectives.

"Positive" contradictions triggered by the effect of the law of value appear as well. We believe that they should be developed (naturally, also controlling them from the viewpoint of social requirements) and utilized in encouraging the accelerated growth of public production. This applies above all to contradictions related to the socialist economic competition by the working people for the better satisfaction of the needs of society and, precisely on this basis, for the better realization of their material, moral, ideological and creative interests. Naturally, it is a question of socialist competition not only as a moral and political movement of the masses but also as an economic process of comparing the results of the work of individual economic units against their corresponding assessment by society (and defining the material advantage or damage to the economic units and the members of their collectives). The economic competition among socialist production workers, in this context, should be an inseparable component of the public



organization of the socialist production process. This will be the necessary consequence and manifestation of the processes of strengthening the cost accounting status of enterprises on the basis of their increasing orientation toward the requirements of the law of value. Characteristic of true socialist competition is the combination of competitiveness and labor rivalry with comradely interaction in achieving the best possible results, interconnection among national, collective and individual interests, observing the principles of distribution according to labor and social guarantees. It is precisely socialism which must extensively develop economic competition among producers "in human forms" (Lenin).

Therefore, the centralized management of the economy with the extensive utilization of value levers contributes to the organic connection among the interests of the various levels of planned economic management and enables us to satisfy the national interests not "despite" collective and personal interests but with their help. It is no accident that the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Journal KOMMUNIST" calls for the study of the process of "optimizing the combination of national, collective and personal interests, precisely in relation to the task of formulating and interpreting the political and economic aspects of a healthy functioning of commodity-monetary relations on a socialist basis, and the role, place and historical prospects of commodity production and the law of value under socialism."

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## REORGANIZATION OF THE DISTRIBUTION SYSTEM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 86 (signed to press 10 Oct 86) pp 64-73

[Article by A. Bim and A. Shokhin, candidates of economic sciences]

[Text] The articles by Academician T.I. Zaslavskaya and S.S. Shatalin, USSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding member (KOMMUNIST, Nos 13 and 14, 1986) extensively discuss problems of perfecting the distribution system, which are most directly related to the solution of the key tasks of our development.

In our view, the main objectives of the reorganization in this area are making distribution methods sufficiently influential in shaping the type of labor motivation consistent with socialism and creating a respective mechanism for enhancing the human factor; maintaining the rates and proportions of income dynamics, which ensure the steady improvement in the well-being of the population and implementing the principles of socialist justice. On this basis, we shall consider some problems which we take to be of primary importance, related to perfecting the shaping and realization of the population's income.

### The Wage Must be Earned

It is now clear that the shortcomings existing in implementing the principle of material incentive cannot be eliminated through partial and sporadic measures. All basic elements in the wage system must be radically restructured. The need for such essential restructuring is pointed out by Academician T.I. Zaslavskaya. However, her article notes that the accumulation of financial reserves, which will enable us to increase the wages of some worker categories without harming the interest of others, is a preliminary prerequisite for its implementation. We consider this concept debatable. In our view, the initial point in the set of measures aimed at perfecting distribution relations is precisely the wage reform itself and the main requirement (in material production sectors, in any case) is that any increase in terms in wage funds and individual salaries must be earned. Recent practices are based on this stipulation.

Let us take as an example a major trend in perfecting the wage control system, such as the review of wage rates and salaries. The previous "cycles" in rate increases absorbed as much as 10 billion rubles in budget allocations per

year. The halt in the review of wage rates and salaries in the new stage (which was planned to start as early as the 11th 5-year period) was related essentially to the implementation of nonplanned measures which required additional funds. The 27th CPSU Congress changed the approach to the wage rate reform. As we know, increases in the wage rates and salaries of personnel in production sectors will be based essentially on enterprise and association funds. This principle will encourage the labor collectives to seek and harness reserves, apply progressive experience and work with fewer people. The enterprise will be able to convert to new wage systems gradually, as the necessary resources are accumulated (resources owned by the enterprise, related to increased production and labor efficiency). Priority in the new wage rates and salaries will be given above all to subunits and worker categories which determine the results of economic activities and production rationalization.

We believe that this principle could be intensified and extended to individual workers. Actually, if an enterprise applies the new rate conditions for a number of years, as it accumulates resources, the possibility appears for workers with the same skill and grade to have two wage rates at the enterprise--the old and the new. Those who have achieved better labor results will be given priority in terms of the new rates. In other words, the wage rate will become flexible and, therefore, the differentiation in wages, based on labor indicators, will increase. This is the equivalent of introducing a rate "bracket" in worker salaries.

Another way of strengthening the principle for earning higher wages is that of establishing a rigid correlation between the dynamics of the wage fund and end national economic results. To this effect it would be expedient to continue to apply the standard methods for setting up such funds; nevertheless, we believe that such methods should be improved somewhat. Above all, we must abandon the standard linking of the wage fund to indicators which do not reflect actual economic turnover (such as the standard-net output indicator). Studies and the experience of the fraternal socialist countries indicate the expediency of using the standard method for shaping the wage fund based on the enterprise gross income indicator. At the same time, it seems logical for the material incentive fund to be based on the final results of economic activities. Naturally, in this case we must firmly change the approach to the standards: widen their effect and adopt a single standard. We believe that all of this will ensure the practical implementation of self-financing in the wage area as well.

The problem formulated by Academician T.I. Zaslavskaya has an important feature worthy of thorough consideration: assessing the growth rates of wages and the share of the wage fund in the total population income.

The concept according to which the insufficiently stimulating role of wages is related to their reduced share in the population's income is quite frequently supported in the press and in scientific discussions. Its supporters believe that the current system of distribution is overburdened with social guarantees, including a guaranteed wage minimum, free social services, low rents and food prices, etc. This leaves no funds for incentive wage raises. We believe, however, that it is not in the least a question of excessive of

social guarantees but of the fact that so far social benefits are being extensively used as an economic incentive for attracting and retaining workers at jobs, enterprises and sectors. In that sense as well the distribution of social benefits no longer plays the role of a guaranteed distribution according to principles uniformly applied to the entire population. At the same time, the constructive reproduction role of social guarantees, such as wages based on labor contribution and work difficulty on the scale of the national economy, job guarantee (not only a job but a full work load), and a guarantee of equal access to social services paid out of public consumption funds. That is why it seems necessary to strengthen the functions of distribution in relation to stimulating the labor activeness of the workers and, at the same time, strengthening the system of distribution functions, which are a social guarantee.

In our view, the strategic purpose of such a course is to establish a standard mechanism for the economic assessment of workers for the entire national economy (essentially based on wages) and a uniform consumer market on a national scale (using T.I. Zaslavskaya's formula) according to which any earned ruble will have the same purchasing power.

Naturally, this approach does not conflict with a higher share of wages in the overall income fund. However, this would be not the result of the implementation of a predetermined concept of a faster growth of wages, but a consequence of a set of steps aimed at upgrading the efficiency of the economic and social functions of distribution, and the way in which the dynamics and structure of population income are reflected in the restructuring of distribution relations, and would also be related to increasing the stimulating role of wages.

Studies indicate that one of the results of such enhancement is the accelerated increase of wage dynamics. As we know, the plan calls for raising the wage rates and salaries by an average of 25-30 percent. Equally obvious, however, is the urgent need to enhance the efficiency of the non-tariff, the variable part of earnings. The existence of a substantial range of wage differentiations outside the wage rate brackets is a real way of struggle against equalization. This is confirmed by the results of a number of economic experiments (Shchekino, Novosibirsk, Abash and others) in which the notorious wage "ceiling" was lifted and wage differentiations ranged between 50 and 100 percent of the rates.

In the immediate future the wage system will come close to the experimentally tried principles. The new wage rate reform calls for streamlining labor norming, eliminating restrictions on exceeding levels of earnings if they are the result of individual labor efforts and the skill of the people and making the bonus system more effective. The result would be an noticeable acceleration in wage increases of working people who are in the vanguard of scientific and technical progress. Taking into consideration a number of social restrictions (the rather limited opportunities for the redistribution of the overall wage fund among the individual employed groups) we should, furthermore, expect a general enhancement in wage dynamics as a necessary prerequisite for a shift in enhancing material incentives (according to our

estimates, the growth rates of average wages could increase by a minimum of 50 percent compared to the current levels).

In our view, however, in order to ensure this acceleration, developing financial resources in advance is unnecessary. If wages are to be truly earned, the source of their additional increase will be the value of the additionally produced goods which will truly satisfy social needs (the fact that the accelerated growth of wages will require the complete balancing of growing income with consumer goods is a different matter which should be discussed separately).

### Social Well-Being and Social Justice

It has been noted in the course of discussions on the problem of reorganizing distribution relations and, in particular, in S.S. Shatalin's article, that a reform of the pension system must become one of its most important aspects. We know that the current standards governing the pension system--the pension scale, maximal amount and the principles on the basis of which various pension supplements are granted--were established approximately 30 years ago. That is why, only three of the five rates currently applied in computing a pension, can be actually used, for the others, related to lower earnings, have simply vanished. The number of people whose pension is based on 50 percent of their wages, which distorts the principles of differentiation of pension rates, has increased drastically. The maximum pension (120 rubles monthly) has become obsolete: at the time it was set, it exceeded the average wage of workers and employees by 60 percent; unless it is raised, by 1990 it will be less than half that figure.

It is for this and similar reasons that under contemporary conditions existing standards cannot ensure the allocation of pensions on the socially necessary level. The partial changes made from time to time no longer suffice in terms of exerting a substantial positive influence on pension levels and differentiations. Due to the fact that pensions have fallen behind the major changes which have taken place in income and consumption, a stable disproportion has developed between the income and well-being levels of employed people and pensioners. Of late (1985) we have been able somewhat to eliminate only one (true, a rather crucial) "component" of this disproportion: we have been able to increase, quite substantially in a number of specific situations, the low pensions which were granted to those who retired 10 or more years ago.

The conclusion which may be drawn from S.S. Shatalin's article is that the essential step in the area of pensions today is their revision in accordance with the dynamics of the retail price index and living standards as a whole. However, the question of adapting the older pensions is, first of all, one of increasing their amount and, secondly, the fact that its urgency has somewhat diminished today as a result of the implementation of the steps we mentioned. The basic problem in pension reform remains the formulation of standards governing the initial pensions, consistent with contemporary scientific concepts of the socially just and economically justified correlation between the incomes of working people and pensioners. No qualitative improvements in the material status of pensioners could otherwise become possible.

We believe that the correlation between earnings and pensions for all citizens, in accordance with the legally stipulated length of work in the national economy, must be such as to ensure the type of pension which will meet the socially normal conditions for the satisfaction of needs. Socially normal means conditions under which the amount of the pension will be fully adequate to meet the usual needs of the person, needs which develop in the course of his employment, but in accordance with natural change related to the termination of labor activeness and respective changes in the way of life. We believe that this approach in establishing the basic pension standard is consistent with the requirements of social justice. At the same time, the link between the size of the pension and the previous labor contribution to public production made by the workers will remain, for the usual needs develop in the course of spending the wages which reflect said contribution. Therefore, the individual wage remains basic in computing the size of the pension; it is important that the correlation between wages and pensions be established not arbitrarily but on the basis of a study of the dynamics of needs. Studies have indicated that this correlation is quite stable in time and could be reliably computed on the basis of the economic-sociological study of the actual consumption parameters of the various groups of working people and pensioners.

Obviously, this approach may be opposed in two areas. The first is, why do we have to limit the basis for pensions to the customary consumption level? We believe that this restriction is consistent with the stage of social maturity reached, in which the principle of ensuring social justice for all social groups is based, above all, on the connection between the measure of distribution and consumption and that of labor. In this connection, which is quite important, on a national economic scale the correlation between wages and the customary consumption level is an objective criterion of the minimal volume of resources which should be allocated at each specific time period for maintaining pensions on a socially normal level.

The second objection we anticipate is of a different nature, related to the fact that the implementation of this approach will obviously lead to raising the level of pensions and, consequently, to increasing the amount of funds allocated for this aspect of improving the people's well being. The expediency and "attainability" of this in the immediate future could also be questioned. Undoubtedly, a substantial increase in funds will become necessary the moment the new pension standards are applied. This will mean a certain reallocation of funds in favor of the pensioners. This seems justified. As we already pointed out, the strategy of acceleration of socioeconomic development and the reorganization of the economic mechanism provide good opportunities for further wage raises based on higher labor productivity. "Natural" factors alone (wage increases) would be insufficient in ensuring a quality improvement in pensions. It will be necessary to review the standards and increase the amount of funds centrally allocated for this purpose. Otherwise the unjustified disproportions in the well-being of the working population and the pensioners could worsen.

The reform should also increase the correlation between the basic pensions and the length of work in the national economy. At the present time, all other conditions being equal, equal pensions could be paid to those who have worked

40 or more years and those who have worked no more than 20 years (women) or 25 years (men). It seems expedient to increase the length of time worked entitling the recipient to full pension and to introduce supplements for additional time worked. It has also become necessary, particularly in connection with the anticipated release of a certain number of workers as a result of accelerated scientific and technical progress, to consider improvements in or, possibly, elimination of a system which allows workers in a number of professions to draw both salary and pension. This, incidentally, would allow "saving" on social security funds which could be used for the implementation of the basic features of the reform.

Voiding the rule according to which the pension is computed on the basis of the averaged earnings during the last year of work would be consistent with the requirements of social justice. Let us point out that such a wish was expressed by many working people in the course of surveys. It is true that the "last year" rule does not accurately correlate wages, which are the base for calculating the size of the pension, with the customary consumption standard. However, this allows an increase in the pension as a result of the artificial (and sometimes even fictitious) increase in earnings during the prepension period.

#### Loss or Gain?

The faster growth of the population's nominal income results in the formulation of strict requirements concerning its use. We believe that a reorganization in this area is as needed as in that of the forming of income. A number of problems arise in this connection, demanding a solution. Let us consider those the discussion of which has already been started in this journal, above all problems related to price policy.

Virtually all materials published on this topic discuss two problems: bringing price level closer to socially necessary production costs and the creation of a flexible price mechanism which could actively influence supply and demand ratios and take into consideration varietal, quality and other commodity differences. Changes in these areas are taking place in price setting. However, we must admit that the improvements which are being made affect individual price ratios, leaving the basic ones untouched. In the opinion of many specialists, solving the problem of improving price setting, formulated in the CPSU program, will require a comprehensive improvement in the retail-price system and its reform. The essential aspects of such a reform are considered in T.I. Zaslavskaya's article. Nevertheless, if the price reform is to be truly comprehensive a number of other circumstances must be taken into consideration.

The first is that of the social consequences of raising the prices of currently subsidized meat and dairy-good prices. In principle, such increase, the purpose of which would be to make prices consistent with social costs, would be economically and socially justified. It would be justified socially because present subsidies and lower prices benefit essentially the average- and high-income population groups and because such price increase would place all groups in an equal position in terms of the conditions under which they can obtain such goods. It would be justified economically because greater



demand (resulting from low retail prices) lowers the quality of goods and encourages a trend of resale of foodstuffs. All of this, however, is in principle, for it is unquestionable that the actual social consequences of the simultaneous increase of retail prices to the level of real production costs would vary. In addition to low- and fixed-income individuals the "losers" would include the population of many large cities, industrial centers and economic development areas, workers in large enterprises and numerous categories of administrative and managerial personnel, i.e., categories which today either purchase meat and dairy products in state stores or else have priority in obtaining them (through rations, public catering or ordering at enterprises and offices, etc.). No income compensation can encompass the full variety of existing consumer markets and differences in the "value" of the earnings of the different categories of working people. This means that a conversion to a new system of food prices (although logical) can not be a one-time step. A price-reform strategy must be formulated and a compromise solution found in solving this problem. The setting of "commercial" prices of high-quality goods with a simultaneous introduction of rationing elements in order to keep prices at a socially acceptable level for all population groups could be introduced as a temporary solution.

We believe that a discussion of the problem of making retail prices consistent with socially necessary labor outlays cannot be limited to substantiating a mechanism of increasing the prices of underpriced commodities. This problem has its opposite side, i.e., the need to lower the prices of light industry and durable goods. These prices are substantially higher than their production costs. This excess, which constitutes the turnover tax is even greater than the sum of further budget subsidies and price reductions in the production of foodstuffs. Such a price-setting mechanism is essentially in the nature of an excise tax: it balances supply with demand in terms of volume and ensures a stable budget revenue.

From the viewpoint of solving topical social policy problem, the shortcomings of this mechanism are quite obvious: it distorts the consumption structure (additional pressure on demand for food products, low intensiveness of purchases of durable goods) and prevents the shaping of long-term consumer guidelines (in frequent cases prices prohibitive to the mass purchaser are set for commodities which shape long-term consumer standards: cars, television and video sets, etc.). In this connection, in addition to a revision of food prices we should lower the overall price levels of industrial consumer goods. Such a step, providing that it is not in the nature of a depreciation of hopelessly unsalable items and is comparable in scale to steps aimed at eliminating price benefits, could be considered in terms of the latter as one of the most important compensatory measures.

Let us particularly emphasize that the retail price reform must not be reduced to a revision of price levels and ratios. We agree with S.S. Shatalin in that one of the main trends in the price reform is the creation of an efficient mechanism which would influence producer price ratios, encourage production and improve the quality of items meeting real social needs and economically "penalize" producers of items which fail to meet such needs. Obviously, such an orientation in the retail-price system cannot be achieved exclusively in the course of the radical reform of the economic mechanism. Otherwise, from

time to time, it will be necessary to take steps to make prices consistent with production costs, which will mean a necessary price increase.

Bearing in mind the circumstance (supported by a number of studies and recent practical experience) that the reform in retail prices can be accomplished on the basis of a certain increase in their overall level, its implementation must mandatorily take into consideration the situation which develops in the terms of the population's real income. The restructuring of the retail price-setting system must, unquestionably, be a necessary prerequisite for the accelerated dynamics of population income.

#### Paid and Free Services

In considering trends in restructuring the income area, we cannot avoid the problem of the correlation between paid and free consumer benefits, which has been actively discussed of late and, in particular, in the course of the debate conducted in KOMMUNIST. In this case the debates are centered on services which are provided free of charge or at low cost and paid out of social consumption funds. It is frequently suggested that payments for such services should be substantially expanded; calls for paying for all such services have been less frequent. Arguments in favor of such suggestions are, as a rule, the following: first, it is claimed that paying for services will upgrade the quality of the work of the respective institutions within the sociocultural complex and, consequently, the quality of the services themselves. Second, by expanding payments all such services--particularly those in short supply--could become more accessible to the consumers. Third, redistribution processes develop as a result of free or low-cost distribution. The main and final argument is "removing" from the area of social consumption funds such socially important services and "including" them in the area of distribution according to labor, thus providing a major increase in the material incentive for intensive and efficient work. Let us consider these arguments.

In our view, the experience acquired in the functioning of the consumer services area proves that, by itself, payment for services has a very small influence on their quality. Are we satisfied, for example, with the work of consumer service establishments? Has the higher cost of individual services, such as those in the recreation industry, for example, necessarily led to a tangible and stable improvement in their quality? The list of such questions could be extended and the answers, based on facts, would confirm our thesis in full.

Naturally, increasing payment could, in principle, lead to a greater accessibility of services (in the sense that it would be easier to obtain them against payment than under the free distribution system). First of all, however, when it becomes a question of priority services, such as health care for example, rather high payments may become necessary in order really to limit demand for them. Furthermore, we know from practical experience of cases in which the sale of scarce items at prices which exceed their value by several hundred percent has been unable to lower consumer demand for long periods of time. Secondly, we believe that increasing the accessibility of services by introducing payments for them would mean encouraging the

appearance of a wide disparity in the satisfaction of priority social needs which in no case would justify the facilitated access to such benefits for some population groups. In this case equal accessibility for all members of society without exception to an amount of still limited goods--which is precisely what free services ensure--is preferable to inequality in access to benefits, even in the case of greater opportunity to procure them for money.

As to the extent to which illegal or semi-illegal deals in the area of social services to which, incidentally, T.I. Zaslavskaya draws our attention in her article, this is a very real phenomenon which, we believe, is not in the least the result of offering free services as such but of the scarcity of some types of consumer benefits. Speculations and other negative phenomena related to scarcity are no less widespread in the area of paid services. In both cases it is not a specific measures aimed at limiting demand but increasing the supply of goods and services that provides a radical solution to the problem.

Let us now consider the influence of suggested payments for social services on the stimulating role of wages. Essentially, it is presumed in this case that the working people would work better if adequate services for health care, education and so on, could be obtained only against payments. However, the insufficiently stimulating role of wages under present conditions is explained, unquestionably, above all in terms of factors which are in the area of labor organization and wages--surplus job vacancies, the absence of suitable ties between earnings and end production results, wage equalization, wage presumption, etc. Another essential factor which lowers worker incentive is, indeed, the imbalance in the consumption economic sector and the inadequately efficient channels through which the money earned is spent. In our view, however, the problem of consumption backing of the growing population income requires a different type of measures, such as, a vast reshuffling of resources which would favor the consumer sectors as a whole; the comprehensive development, as stipulated in the resolutions of the party congress, of a system of paid services in traditionally paid sectors, such as consumer services, and the recreation and leisure time industry; and intensifying the turnover of consumer resources, based on a retail price reform.

Nevertheless, the question of increasing payments in this area can be legitimately raised.

The view expressed by T.I. Zaslavskaya according to which the demarcation between paid and free distribution of benefits should be based on meaningful socioeconomic criteria deserves unquestionable support. We believe that the basic principle of classifying specific needs and consumer benefits in the distribution area through social consumption funds could be such a criterion. It would be reasonable to include in this area needs (and respective benefits) on the subject of which truly significant contradictions may develop in social and individual assessments of their urgency to the consumers. It is precisely on the basis of this principle that social funds are used to meet the most important social priorities in the areas of education, health care, etc. This is an urgency which, from the viewpoint of the national interests, is quite high, and from the viewpoint of the individual interests is always lesser than the urgent need for basic material necessities.

Naturally, increased well-being and other social factors introduce changes in the correlation between social and individual assessments of the urgency of needs and goods. But are such changes currently of a nature which would enable us to solve the problem of excluding education and health care from the area of free services? We believe that they are not. In particular, introducing payments for basic types of education, including higher education, under the conditions of the need for a radical acceleration of scientific and technical progress could, in our view, seriously undermine the "human factor" of the acceleration. As to health care, we are quite familiar with cases in which young workers who lack sufficient seniority for obtaining aid for temporary disability on the level of their full wages avoid putting themselves on a sick list, frequently to the detriment of their health. The same, if not a greater, adverse effect would result from the need to pay for treatment in health care institutions. This would hardly contribute to the efficient solution of a most important social problem, which is improving the overall health of the population.

The logical trend in broadening payments for traditionally free (or low-cost) services is to charge for services which are currently paid out of social consumption funds in violation of the basic principle which regulate them. Thus, benefits for state housing and, in particular, current expenditures, which are included in the social consumption funds, are unrelated to the nature of said type of distribution: significant contradictions have long disappeared between public and individual assessments of the urgent need for housing (even assuming that such contradictions did initially exist). Benefits in paying for current upkeep of state housing are a cost benefit the retention of which, considering the great need for them would be hardly expedient. Furthermore, a significant number of people own their homes or are shareholders in housing cooperatives and pay for the construction and upkeep of their housing in full. Therefore, in order to eliminate inequality within the framework of the basic assignments and trends adopted by the party for the solution of the housing problem in the country, it would be suitable to consider the gradual extension of this kind of full payment for housing to the entire population.

Available experience also indicates that it would be expedient to develop the network of institutions satisfying individual "microneeds" against pay (both on an individual and public basis) not instead of but in addition to free distribution. In education, for example, this would include various types of course which would provide additional knowledge. Full tuition should be charged for a second higher specialized training. In health care this would apply to cost-effective general polyclinics, a few of which exist currently, and to some specialized prevention-treatment institutions. Such a system should not replace free health services or, even less so, hinder their further development. However, this could expand the option of paying for socially significant services in the case of members of society who may have such needs and have the means of satisfying them on a higher level than the socially standardized one. With such an organization of the matter, it seems to us, both social guarantees and economic incentives will be in a state of substantiated, expedient and nonconflicting interaction.

Naturally, we do not feel in the least that these suggestions cover the entire range of steps aimed at restructuring wages, pensions, retail prices and the correlation between paid and free services. Omitted in this article have been important and quite urgent problems of distribution relations, such as the restructuring of the tax system, intensifying the social influence on income derived from private work and "shady" income redistribution, perfecting the organization of savings and a policy of income differentiation. A further discussion of all such problems will enable us to formulate a concept and a program of measures related to the comprehensive restructuring of distribution relations.

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## EVERYTHING WITHIN MAN--EVERYTHING FOR MAN

### KNOW THYSELF: HUMAN HIGHER NERVOUS ACTIVITY, EFFICIENCY AND HEALTH

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[Article by P. Simonov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Higher Nervous Activity and Neurophysiology, USSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member]

[Text] The increased attention paid to the human factor in the production process unquestionably increases the need for a more profound study of man's comprehensive inner world--the subject itself and, naturally, the sciences which study this world, including the contemporary science of higher nervous activity. Some of its applied aspects, we believe, assume particular importance today.

The efficient activity of the individual in any area of application of his powers presumes, above all, a sufficiently high degree of interest, and motivation aimed at satisfying a variety of material, social and spiritual needs. The human emotions and feeling of satisfaction with the work itself and its results act like a "key," and as an objective indicator of the extent to which specific needs are satisfied in the course of the labor process.

According to the "information theory of emotions," which was formulated as early as 1964, the likelihood of satisfying the needs of the individual is determined by comparing our information on the means, knowledge, energy, resources and time presumed necessary for attaining an objective with information on the means, knowledge, time, etc., available to the person. Let us note that such an assessment could take place on the conscious and subconscious levels of higher nervous activity, as a result of which an emotion is experienced by the person as an immediate, a primary response to an existing situation, although in fact it is the result of a most complex projecting brain work. A small likelihood that a need may be satisfied leads to negative emotions, such as dissatisfaction, irritation, uncertainty and bad mood. An increased likelihood of achieving the objective, compared with a previous anticipation, triggers positive emotions, such as happiness, enthusiasm and the enhancement of intellectual and physical efforts.

We proved the dependence of the emotional reaction on the degree of the need and the likelihood of its satisfaction through psychophysiological experiments in which the strength of emotions was judged by objectively recorded changes

in the organism (in the activity of the heart, the electrical impulses in the brain, fluctuations in skin potentials, etc.); the level of information of the subject was determined according to the sum of admissible error. The same experiments were duplicated in 1984 by American scientists D. Price and G. Barrell in their purely psychological variant. They suggested that the subjects be rated according to the strength of their desire, anticipated likelihood of reaching their objectives and degree of emotional experience, rated according to a special scale. The quantitative processing of the data confirmed the existence of a correlation which Price and Barrell described as the "general law of human emotions."

The need-information approach to the origin of human emotional reactions appears to be a sufficiently productive minimum in three areas. First, it enabled us to establish the exceptional importance of human needs, the role of which was previously not subject to the attention they deserve in the area of labor activity. Second, the study of the nature of emotions contributed to the elaboration of methods for objectively controlling the degree of emotional stress, for each type of activity has its optimal stress within which said activity develops most productively. Finally, the need-information approach sets a theoretical base for the prevention of chronic emotional stress, whenever such stress could have an adverse effect on human efficiency and health. We shall discuss each of these three areas in greater detail.

Despite the great importance of material incentive and of the social approval of labor successes, work becomes particularly efficient whenever it includes elements of creativity, in the course of which the need organically inherent in man to learn something new and previously unknown is satisfied. This includes knowledge of his own possibilities and gifts. The point is that--as also scientifically proven--creative intuition, inventiveness and ability for discovery always affect the need which holds a leading position in the structure of motivations of the person. He who considers his job merely a means of income or of pursuing a social career, regardless of his intentions his intuition will urge him to seek the shortest route from the first to the second. Such a "one-dimensional" person will have neither time nor strength for discovery or insight in perfecting the production process itself.

Does this mean that the only incentive for routine noncreative labor (a great deal of which exists at the present stage in the development of civilization and which is, for the time being, absolutely necessary to society) is material reward? We assume that such is not the case.

Let us not forget the need, inherent in us all since earliest childhood to master means, skills and abilities, some of which may become necessary only many years later. In the book we coauthored with P.M. Yershov "Temperament. Kharakter. Lichnost" [Temperament. Character. Personality], we described it as a universal "need for armament" (a number of foreign authors describe it as "need for competence." We believe that this term does not reflect adequately the content itself; "need for armament" means competence, skills, ability, experience, etc.). Children can repeat the same action dozens and hundreds of times, the only purpose of which (naturally, unrealized by the child) is the training of their psychophysical apparatus. This need assumes increasingly more complex aspects as man grows up. It includes the desire for



education and perfecting one's professional skill, and the mastery of related skills. Unfortunately, we quite frequently come across rather powerful material, social or cognitive motivation which is not combined within the subject with an expressed "need for armament." This leads to dilettantism and incompetence. Low skills diminish the social value of the individual, for only a skilled activity can be accepted as real by others. However, inadequate "armament" harms the personality itself, sooner or later invariably creating a feeling of inadequacy.

The most productive activity occurs when competence is combined with true vocation and talent. In the familiar formula "From Each According to His Capabilities and to Each According to His Labor" we usually emphasize the second half, although the realization of natural abilities and gifts of a person are no less important in terms of the optimal organization of labor than is the equitable distribution of social goods. The work of an educator who does not love his students with all his heart is doomed to chronic failure. We would not like to be treated by a physician who lacks the organic need to help the patient. Such claims may be so trivial as to be embarrassing. Nevertheless, the "motivation rating" has still not become a decisive criterion for school enrollment, hopelessly losing in the competition for the study of some subjects. But how to determine a true vocation, which is frequently unclear to the person himself? For the time being, the only known way is mastering the object of the need.

How can one know oneself, the great Goethe asked. He answered: only through action and never through contemplation. Try to do your duty and you will find what there is in you. One or 2 years of conscientious work as junior medical personnel would tell immeasurably more about a future physician than the way he "developed the character" in a literature composition test. Work as a Pioneer leader, sponsorship of junior grade students, enable the future teacher to be confident when he applies to a pedagogical institute. Let us note that the most reliable indicator of true vocation is, once again, "need for armament," the striving for skill perfection and work mastery.

Even when the work has no novelty or creativity aspects, high level professionalism, accuracy, perfection and artistry in performing of what may be routine operations make such activity particularly attractive for they enable the person "to prove himself" through the positive emotions which arise on this basis. Unfortunately, education practices (be they in secondary school, vocational-technical school or advancement courses for adults) by no means always and fully realize the reality and significance of this specific need, support and cultivate it. In an effort to make the training process more interesting and attractive, the educator sometimes appeals only to man's curiosity and relies only on the need for knowledge and...thus encourages dilettantism. Interest becomes superficial and curiosity turns into superficiality. In reality, the joy of knowing must be steadily supplemented by that of being able to, for the principle of the impossibility of satisfying it through other motivations is extended to the "need for armament."

No less important in terms of efficient labor is the need to surmount obstacles on the way to the target, something which we usually describe as will. The fact that will is an autonomous need is confirmed by the existence

of emotions related to the possibility or impossibility of surmounting obstacles on the way to the final objective. The facts prove that the greatest satisfaction is attained by solving production problems which are quite (but not excessively) difficult and by no means the simplest.

The individual emphasis and degree of satisfaction of said needs have a tremendous influence on shaping the human character. The need to surmount is the base of man's willpower and a certain level of "armament," felt on a conscious or subconscious basis makes a person calm, confident and cool in difficult and rapidly changing situations. Conversely, insufficient armament triggers feelings of worry and concern about one's status, jealousy of other people's success and dependence on their protection. Instead of bemoaning the "bad" or "weak" character of the student, and instead of abstract appeals for self-education, it is important to consider how to arm the individual with means of satisfying those of his needs which are of the greatest value to society and to his own harmonious development. That is why the entire system of steps aimed at upgrading the skill of workers in any area of activity and at any age is of tremendous importance not only in upgrading labor productivity but also "enhancing needs" (Lenin) of the person himself. This is the first mandatory prerequisite for making the labor process attractive through the satisfaction of the need for knowledge, creativity, "armament" and removal of obstacles on the way to the target.

We most frequently use expressions such as "skilled labor" and "unskilled labor" in the sense that work in a given area demands lesser skills than in another (i.e., we make a horizontal comparison). Far less frequently do we consider the importance of another dimension, of another scale of values, in which highly skilled virtuoso labor, such as that of a medical technician or driver could rub elbows with underskilled and helplessly nonprofessional activity of a member of a scientific research institution. Yet it is precisely in this second meaning that skill is a particular and necessary prerequisite for the transformation of labor into a prime vital need, for it is only skilled labor that can trigger positive emotions long before final results have been obtained and before the material and social rating of society has been earned. A person with a "developed need for armament" experiences an almost physical pain at careless, dirty and slovenly work and a number of events must run their course before this feeling, which is natural to man, is suppressed, so that man can calmly plant seeds in poor soil, aware that hardly anything will grow.

Let us move on to the second topical trend in today's psychophysiology of human labor activity.

The development of new methods for objective quantitative evaluation of the influence of labor on the functional condition and health of the person (stress, fatigue, monotony, intensiveness) and a consideration of the influence which his condition exerts on the efficiency of his activity become particularly relevant with accelerated scientific and technical progress. Three key stages of such changes, which are most essential in forecasting the quality of the work and the reliability of the "human link" in the complex system of managing the production process are of particular interest in the dynamics of changes in a functional state. We mean by this the condition of

optimal efficiency with high level vigilance and minimal amount of errors; fatigue with the characteristic lowering of the level of vigilance, drowsiness, slower reactions and blindness to important signals; excessive emotional stress which leads to the disorganization of activity, premature reactions and increased errors of the false alarm type with excessive waste of energy. Over the past 20 years a number of laboratories in our institute, working in creative cooperation with the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences Scientific Research Institute of Neurosurgery imeni Akademik N.N. Burdenko developed, theoretically substantiated and put to practical use a set of methods for diagnosing and forecasting the functional condition of the human brain from the viewpoint of the psychophysiology of labor and medicine.

This set was based on original theoretical concepts developed by a number of leading Soviet scientists who laid a firm scientific base under each of the suggested methods. Thus, Academician M.N. Livanov and his associates proved that the so-called spatial synchronization of biopotentials, which is widespread in the brain cortex, and its time coincidence are coordinated with the complexity of the task and that its dynamics reflects the level of training of the subject and his ability to perform the specific type of activity. The spatial synchronizing of electric functions in a strictly delineated brain area, specific to a given activity, allows us to forecast its efficiency and correlation between right and wrong reactions.

The concept of stable (stationary) excitation centers in the central nervous system and its electrographic manifestations, suggested by USSR Academy of Medical Sciences Academician V.S. Rusinov, and his work on the origin of slow electrical processes in the brain help us to understand the nature of the slow changes in the spatial synchronization of the biopotentials of the brain and the frequency of cardiac contractions which develop in man in the case of fatigue caused by monotonous activity which, nevertheless, requires constant attention (such as in operators of automated and semi-automated control systems). Recording such processes enables us to forecast the likelihood of the fact that the reliability of the operator may drop to a critical level in the immediate future. The great importance of slow bioelectric processes in assessing the functional condition of the person was proved with the help of other methods and corresponding equipment in the studies conducted in Leningrad by Academician N.P. Bekhtereva and her associates. The possibility of a strictly objective quantitative assessment of the current state of the operator allowed Candidate of Technical Sciences and Dr of Philosophical Sciences M.V. Frolov to develop the theoretical foundations of so-called tricircuit ergatic control systems, which take into consideration the condition of the person linked with the system and exert on him an influence which optimizes activity, ensuring the efficient work of the overall system.

Let me point out that these methods were successfully tested under the conditions of an actual work of air controllers, civil aviation pilots, subway engineers and members of many other professions. The development of such methods became possible with the help of applied mathematics, computers and means of automation of electrophysiological studies. This proves that the contribution of the physiology of man's higher nervous activity to the acceleration of scientific and technical progress is largely the result of

scientific and technical progress in the methods of brain neurophysiology itself.

Finally, let us consider the theoretical substantiation of ways to prevent undesirable nervous-emotional stress, frequently considered typical of a considerable part of the population of industrially developed countries, and a reason for the higher number of neurotic disturbances and psychosomatic diseases, such as neurogenic hypertonia, ischemic heart disease, stomach and duodenal ulcer, bronchial asthma, migraines, etc.

In speaking of the undesirable consequences of the scientific and technical revolution in terms of the nerve-emotional condition and health of man, the adverse effect of factors, such as the need to process large data arrays in a strictly limited time for making responsible decisions, the faster pace of life, the disturbance of biological daily rhythms as a result of shift work, long air travel, and so on, combined with insufficient motor activeness by those performing work similar to that of operators or controllers, is sometimes emphasized. Although we acknowledge the importance of such factors as causes of chronic emotional stresses (entirely consistent with the information theory of emotions), we find it difficult to accept the hypothesis of the increase in said diseases as a direct consequence of scientific and technical progress. "The intensification of the production process," Leningrad psychiatrist B.D. Karvasarskiy writes, "as well as life itself, are not, by themselves, pathogenic. That is precisely why millions of people who are in the very thick of the scientific and technical revolution do not suffer from neuroses, while neuroses affect most frequently precisely those who are on the margin of socioproductive life.... The frequency of neuroses among working individuals is lower than among dependents and pensioners" (B.D. Karvasarskiy. "Meditsinskaya Psikhologiya" [Medical Psychology]. Meditsina, Leningrad, 1982, pp 129-130). In analyzing the reasons for neuroses, scientists reasonably give priority to the influence of personality conflicts--family, age-group, home and job. That is why the real prevention of neurotic disturbances is more of an educational than a medical problem. It is the development of truly "human relations," of which Marx spoke, the "labor of the soul" which Sukhomlinskiy called for.

Naturally, the struggle against conflicts in the area of personality relations is incomparably more difficult than relaxing with the help of self-training, jogging and bicycle riding, which are usually suggested as ways of preventing emotional stress. This struggle requires a most complex set of socioeducational measures in creating a healthy psychological climate within a collective, from the family to the production association numbering thousands of workers. The proper raising of a child literally from the very first days of his life, in which excessive tampering or gross suppression of initiative and desire for independence and the protection of the small person's dignity and right to make a choice are of truly tremendous importance in the psychoprophylaxis of neuroses and psychosomatic diseases. It is precisely the period of childhood and early adolescence that indicates to us the area in which the educational and ethical aspects become inseparably interwoven with the medical aspects and in which the interconnection between moral and physical health is particularly strong.

What to do about negative emotions, which are so harmful to the health? Should one become indifferent to other people's sorrows? Should one ignore injustice and abuses? Should one live according to the me-first principle? The moral unacceptability of such a "principle" is obvious. Let us recall that emotions--positive or negative--are by themselves socially worthless. It is the mind and need for them which trigger them and make them valuable. That is why the just anger of a person indignant, for example, at injustice or senseless waste of public property, is qualitatively different from the malice of the money grubber whose deal has been spoiled. Actually, appeals to avoid negative emotions are not only socially immoral but also groundless from the purely medical viewpoint, for there are emotions and emotions.

As is frequently the case in science, experiments with animals provide a great deal of valuable information for accurately understanding the role of emotions in the pathogenesis of neurogenic diseases. Studies involving experimentally triggered pathology of the nervous and cardiovascular systems, conducted in our institute by associates of the first Moscow Medical Institute and by a number of foreign scientists, have convincingly proved that the course of a disease is harmfully affected only by the negative emotions which appear in the passive-defensive behavior of the animal, refusal to seek a solution to a conflict situation and surrender to difficulties on the way to one's target. If negative emotions develop against the background of an active struggle, an active search of means for the satisfaction of vital needs, they do not harm the body and occasionally even help in its recovery. On the basis of their own experiments, American scientists were able to conclude that the higher animals have a particular need to "control events." Artificially depriving the animals of this possibility leads to a gradual development of "instilled helplessness," which, in terms of its physiological manifestations and biochemical changes in the brain tissue remind of human depression. But why is it that even in animals, i.e., in the prehuman evolutionary stages, a passive attitude toward adverse circumstances in the environment assume a pathogenic influence on the activity of the organism?

The studies conducted by the Soviet geneticist Academician D.K. Belyayeva are of major importance in providing a scientific answer to this question. Despite the widespread view of emotional stress as the "disease of civilization" they proved that emotional stress is a most important factor in the lengthy development of the world of animate beings. It is thanks to stress that, on the one hand, a selection of "stress resistance" takes place, which leads to the appearance of genetic lines of varying ability to resist emotional stress; on the other hand, stress brings to light qualities which remain hidden under ordinary nonextreme circumstances. In other words, emotional stress broadens the variety of genetic material involved in the process of natural selection, thus accelerating the course of evolution and contributing to the appearance of new more advanced forms.

Therefore, the link between a certain type of behavior, which characterizes a passive attitude toward vitally important events in the environment, and refusal to seek a solution to a conflict situation and surrender to difficulties, and an expressed tendency toward neurotic and psychosomatic diseases, has a long history predating the appearance of man.

Naturally, it would be an error directly to apply purely biological laws to socially determined human activity. Nevertheless, there are substantial reasons to claim that the active and effective-aggressive human attitude toward the difficulties and conflicts which man encounters on his way is the most important factor in the psychoprophylaxis of neurogenic diseases. The study of the achievements of contemporary biology in medicine leads us to direct our attention to the unsuccessful struggle waged against negative emotions (to eliminate them from our lives at will!) and to the purposeful development of needs and motivations and of an active attitude toward the world.

Life proves that exhaustive interpersonal conflicts arise most frequently wherever business reasons are replaced by "positions," and where concern for a socially useful matter is replaced by exaggerated concern for "one's own place" and misunderstood reputation. A high idea-mindedness, a feeling of personal dignity, orientation toward major and significant objectives and a profound inner "harmony with oneself" are not only most valuable social qualities in an individual but also one of the guarantees for the physical health of man and his long and active life. We come across a most interesting phenomenon in which the number of social requirements of an active life stance displayed by the member of the socialist society coincide with the natural scientific conclusion of the significance and benefit of holding precisely such a stance in terms of preventing neurogenic diseases.

Naturally, this is not to say that an active attitude toward the world replaces or blocks the effect of all other pathogenic factors, which include individual metabolic features, a wrong diet, overeating, drinking, smoking, a sedentary way of life, etc. Preventing the "diseases of the age" requires a comprehensive systematic approach not a search for a universal panacea.

An active behavior must be given priority in this complex. To act means not to surrender to difficulties. It means to continue to seek a solution to any, even the most difficult, situation rather than yield with indifference and surrender to the disease. It is even worse to seek doubtful consolation and relaxation in a bottle of wine. By acting energetically, the person develops a more favorable prognosis for attaining his objective than by surrendering and giving up. This subconscious forecast "computed" by the brain triggers hope, lowers the power of negative emotions and creates grounds for positive ones even when, although not reached, the end objective is in sight.

In conclusion, I would like to cite the words of I.P. Pavlov, the founder of the science of higher nervous activity, who firmly believed that science "will teach us and, the further we advance, more and the better, how to work, rest, eat, and so on, properly, i.e., in a useful and pleasant manner. But there is more. It will teach us, as a rule, to think, feel and desire."

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## Man of the New World: Concerns, Ideals, Values

NOT FOR THE SAKE OF GLORY....

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 86 (signed to press 10 Oct 86) pp 82-84

[Article by P. Antropov]

[Text] When his fellow-workers were seeing Konstantin Ivanovich Nyuksha off to Moscow, to the 27th Party Congress, they asked him to go to the USSR Ministry of Electrical Equipment Industry and to ask about the reconstruction of their instruments shop. Nyuksha is a responsible person who never fails to keep a promise. Although it was difficult to find the necessary time while the congress was in session, he nevertheless went to the ministry and even talked with the minister. He told him that the instruments shop--a previously frontranking collective of the Rizhskiy Elektromashinostroitelnyy Zavod Production Association--had begun of late to fall behind, increasingly letting other shops down and failing to supply them with the necessary fittings. It was short of manpower and its equipment had become obsolete. It even had a lathe dating back from 1949. The workers had ironically labeled it the "champion." The question of reconstructing the instruments-making shop had been frequently raised with the management by Nyuksha himself. So far, in vain.

The minister listened closely to Konstantin Ivanovich, promised to help with equipment and to "apply pressure" on the association's management. Nyuksha returned home with the hope that now things will get moving. He cheered up his comrades. Weeks passed, however, and nothing changed. No member of the shop's management was interested. At that point, once again, Konstantin Ivanovich went to see E. Kikas, the general director. The latter was sympathetic but could do nothing:

"If the minister cannot speed up the technical retooling of the shop what can I do?"

"Perhaps we could try to change something by ourselves?"

"How do you imagine this?" skeptically asked the director. "We cannot cope with our current assignments and you are suggesting an entire reconstruction. Let me think how to do it. But only not now, later."

No, he had no right to accept delays, Nyuksha had decided while still at the congress. The reorganization calls for action and change and not empty talk.



He, as a communist, had to struggle for its acceleration by all possible means and find allies. Such allies were found at the republic's party newspaper SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA, to which Konstantin Ivanovich turned for advice.

Soon afterwards, an article by K.I. Nyuksha appeared in the newspaper. The delegate to the 27th CPSU Congress raised the question sharply and in a principle-minded fashion: "Unless the instruments shop is given effective aid, it may unwittingly hinder the implementation of the plans.... One must seriously deal with this production sector, speed up its technical retooling and organize the impeccable work of existing machine tools, improve production planning and reinforce our ranks with young workers."

This material was noticed by the REZ. The responses, however, varied.

"Good boy, Kostya!" he was told by veterans. "Perhaps this criticism will make a change."

However, other comments were heard as well: Why is Nyuksha spoiling relations with the bosses? His earnings are not affected and as to the future of the shop, let the director think about it.... Generally speaking this is not Nyuksha's concern.

"Whose concern is it if not mine? Whose?" Konstantin Ivanovich could not even conceive of life without this shop smelling of machine oil and metal. It was here that he had taken the first steps in his career. It was here that he had grown up and become close to the collective. Thirty years had passed since Kostya Nyuksha, the son of a Latvian peasant, had entered this large plant in Riga, and he still remembered that memorable morning. Many things in that shop he found strange: the rumbling machine-tools, the long rows of workbenches and the amazing skill of the workers who were skillfully turning bits of metal into glistening dies.

At first, it seemed to Kostya that he would never reach such precision, skill and ease in the work. Frankly, not everything went well with the novice at first. He sweated, his hands became callused but the metal stubbornly refused to assume the desired shape. Sometimes he felt like giving up and asking for simpler work. At that point, however, Kostya would clench his teeth and keep filing the recalcitrant metal even more stubbornly.

Looking at this strong boy with a wide forehead, veterans commented: "Look at the way he tries, you cannot pull him away from the workbench." They were generous with their encouragements and advice. Peteris Paure, one of the best instrument makers, suggested: "Let us work together. You do the simpler operations and I will do the more difficult ones. Let us share our wages, as though in a brigade."

It is thus that they worked for 6 months. His tutor then said: "Now, take the dies yourself. You have gained the skill and have become friendly with the metal. It will not let you down."

Peteris Paure was right. Metal has some kind of gravity, like the earth. It is difficult to make it obey and turn the steel into the shape which the

designer has laid on paper. It is difficult but attractive. The profession of instrument maker, which demands thoughtful and fine work, becomes increasingly attractive itself. Skill came with time. His work was rated highly not only in the shop where he worked but also by the Riga orthopedic surgeons, on whose request he had made a number of adaptations for most complex surgery.

"He's a real jeweler," said Professor Viktor Kalnberz, director of the Latvian Scientific Research Institute of Traumatology and Orthopedics, referring to his assistant.

No one could disagree with this assessment, for in such instruments the dimensions are measured in microns. Their quality, however, is always impeccable. It is no accident that dies with Konstantin Ivanovich's personal seal do not require further checking.

"If Nyuksha's seal is on an item," the controllers say, "it is the equivalent of the Emblem of Quality."....

Konstantin Ivanovich's skill and his rare industriousness and feeling of duty and high responsibility earned him deserved recognition. Here, at the REZ, he was awarded the Order of Labor Glory, all three classes.

It was also here the Nyuksha's liking for social work, to which he dedicates a great deal of effort and time, was manifested and strengthened as time passed. His comrades elected him to the trade union bureau and to the buro of the party organization. The collective unanimously nominated him to the republic's supreme soviet. In the autumn of 1985 Nyuksha became a member of the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee Buro.

Despite all this however, Konstantin Ivanovich remained as modest as he was in the past, for this was an intrinsic part of his character. As always, he remained extremely demanding of himself. Today as well, he is frequently displeased with the items he makes. Occasionally he argues with designers, proving that the dies could be more reliable and suggesting an optimal design.

"How not to set him as an example?" sensibly asked Mikhail Lazarev, shop party organization secretary, who had recommended K.I. Nyuksha for party membership. "Let us admit it, some of our people get a high grade and become stuck up: this I will not do, that I will not become. I am now a master, I can demand a suitable job. Konstantin Ivanovich's approach to the work is different: if it is needed, I shall do it. He will not only complete his own project but will also help his comrades. He is the true master of his enterprise. Everything concerns him. He will not ignore any kind of disorder and will never say, 'this will do.' He does not allow any weakness in himself and does not leave idlers alone. Some of them complain of Konstantin Ivanovich's restless nature, saying the Nyuksha is 'taking on too much.' The majority of instrument makers, however, know that such is their comrade's character: he does not tolerate lazy and negligent work."

Amazingly, two seemingly incompatible qualities coexist within Konstantin Ivanovich: endless patience, developed by his skill and his difficult youth,

and a hot temper, the hot temper of a person who cannot stand even the slightest disorder or slackness. Looking at this strong and patient man with his open and benevolent appearance, one cannot believe that he is capable of anger.

It is true that even his anger is somewhat special: he does not raise his voice, it is as though he retreats within himself. His blue eyes darken, his speech becomes curt, he smokes nervously. At such times Konstantin Ivanovich can also be harsh! It is such occasions that have turned his hair white. The slackers, however, have felt the consequences....

Sharp as he is with unconscientious and lazy people, he is sensitive and responsive to those who work, as he does, conscientiously, and is always ready to help others. People turn to Konstantin Ivanovich Nyuksha not only about production problems, for he is a deputy to the republic's supreme soviet and member of the CP of Latvija Central Committee Buro.

Recently a turner complained to him: his family had been dropped from the waiting list for housing over a matter of four square centimeters. The decision was formalistic and obviously unfair. However, amending it proved to be difficult. K.I. Nyuksha went to the executive committees of the rayon and city soviets, spoke with a number of managers and had a special meeting with the chairman of the republic's trade union council. It was only thanks to this concern that the Urvantsev family was able to improve its housing. A great deal of time had to be spend but Konstantin Ivanovich was pleased: he had been able to help one more good person.

He is particularly pleased when he is able to give support to a young worker who has come to the instruments shop. This shop veteran justifiably believes that there are no poor students, there are only poor teachers. He has frequently proved this practically, by taking on the "worst" students. One of them was Sergey Denisov, who was a shirker and had developed an early liking for alcohol. The people at the shop had given him up and intended to have him fired. Konstantin Ivanovich summoned the boy:

"Do you want to train with me?"

"With you?" the other asked confused. "Who would refuse such a teacher?"

"But you have probably heard that I do not tolerate idleness and drinking."

"I know. But I also know that you never scold without a reason..."

The trust of this acknowledged master and his strictness and also goodness and ability to see beyond the superficial bravado of the boy his desire to stand on his two feet, accomplished what others had failed to achieve. Denisov took hold of himself, gradually became involved with the work and, above all, began to love it. He is now a grade five worker and has developed a strong reputation as a good instrument maker. He is a member of the shop Komsomol buro. While Konstantin Ivanovich was attending the 27th Congress, Sergey became a party member. He was recommended by Nyuksha, who trusted that his student will not let him down.

Nyuksha's past and present students have a deep feeling of respect for their tutor. Perhaps better than others they know how deeply problems of the instrument shop affect him.

noticed not only at the REZ but also by the gorkom and CP of Latvia Central Committee. His views were supported, and the association's management and party committee turned their attention to the sluggishness with which the problems raised by Nyuksha were being solved.

Today Edvard Boshis, association party committee secretary, admits:

"It was thanks to Konstantin Ivanovich's persistence that our enterprise began to deal seriously with the problem of the instruments shop."

The association's management now agrees that it had ignored this important production sector. The managers were told this by the workers, bluntly, at a shop meeting, held at Nyuksha's suggestion.

The workers heatedly said that the association's management rarely visits the shop, poorly listens to their wishes and shows little concern for the technical retooling of the production process and for improving labor conditions. They also submitted practical suggestions. Nyuksha could have added a great deal to the list of wishes submitted to the administration. Yet, asking for the floor, unexpectedly he began to discuss something else:

"We are not without blame. All of us are waiting for the management to bring order. Is it not time for us to take a stricter look at our own work? Naturally, volume and quality greatly depend on equipment and technology. However, our attitude toward the work is no less important in being successful. I believe that in the present circumstances everyone can improve his own work. Enough talks of reorganization, let us begin by reorganizing our own selves...."

Konstantin Ivanovich looked at the heart of the matter. Tomorrow, in 6 months, perhaps with a delay, new equipment and new technology will come to the shop and labor conditions will improve. By themselves, however, they will not yield proper results. Also needed will be greater skill and stricter discipline which cannot be developed in a single day. People will not change quickly. Consequently, a daily struggle must be waged against the old habits, against tolerance and complacency. This must be done now and in the future.

The plans for reorganizing the work of the instruments shop, which had been formulated after that heated meeting, could be implemented only with a proprietary, a self-critical approach. Naturally, a great deal depends on the association's engineering and economic services and on the sectorial ministry. However, a great deal remains to be done by the shop personnel themselves.

Thus supported, the instrument makers did not lay the plans to rest. The procurement section has been reinforced with skilled workers. Work on the most precise equipment has been organized in two shifts. A new optical-grinding machine tool has been installed, and the aeration system at the milling section has been repaired. Amenities are next.

This, however, is only the beginning. Most of the work lies ahead. Konstantin Ivanovich Nyuksha is well-aware of this. Not only does he call upon others to work better but personally sets the example, daily overfilling assignments by 20-30 percent. He pledged to complete the assignment for the first 2 years of the 5-year period by the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution. The comrades are confident that he will achieve more than that. He is a person who knows how to find and use possibilities which ensure steady acceleration.

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## SOCIAL POLICY, DEMOCRACY, SELF-GOVERNMENT

### IN THE NAME OF SOCIALIST JUSTICE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 86 (signed to press 10 Oct 86) pp 85-96

[Three interviews on the struggle against unearned income conducted by Yu. Kudryavtsev, KOMMUNIST special correspondent]

[Text] The radical reorganization of the economy and of the social and spiritual areas are inconceivable without a firm assertion of the principle of socialist justice and enhancing the prestige of honest and conscientious work for the good of society. "To us," M.S. Gorbachev said at the 27th CPSU Congress, "the ways and means through which improvements in material and spiritual life are attained and the social consequences of such improvements are by no means a matter of indifference. If private-ownership and parasitical moods and equalization trends begin to appear, this means that something is wrong in the choice of ways and means in our work, and must be corrected."

The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decrees and the Ukase of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on intensifying the struggle against unearned income, which were passed last May and are aimed at solving this problem, are now being implemented comprehensively. Party, soviet and administrative authorities and labor collectives are actively joining in these efforts. Although very little time has passed since the new documents were promulgated, the difficulty of this assignment is already quite clear. The range of problems which arise in the course of its implementation is much broader than was initially imagined. It was found out that sometimes legal prohibitions and restrictions, imposed with the best intentions in the world, may yield entirely unexpected results. It is becoming increasingly clear that even efforts to end unearned income are not the most difficult feature. It is much more difficult to eliminate the reasons for this phenomenon. This makes even more necessary and valuable a thoughtful study of practical and positive experience small as it may be at this point.

Yu. Kudryavtsev, KOMMUNIST special correspondent, visited Voronezh Oblast and met with the heads of the oblast party, soviet and law enforcement bodies, who responded to the request of the journal's editor to describe their experience and problems in organizing the struggle against unearned income.

V.A. Mitko, oblast first deputy prosecutor:

The struggle against theft, negligence, speculations, bribery, and figure padding, i.e., against anything which directly or indirectly leads to unearned income, has always been part of the duties of the prosecutor's office. However, such work has by no means always been efficient. Many problems which, as a rule, had no legal solution, remained out of our sight. The situation which developed in this area clearly proves the manner in which legal standards can fall behind the development of social relations and lose their ability to block negative phenomena. In turn, slowness in solving topical social problems inevitably leads to their aggravation. The new legal standards in the present situation make the activities of the prosecutor's office more purposeful.

Encroachments on socialist property are the main source of unearned income. Every year the oblast's national economy suffers severe losses from thefts and shortages. Last year, for example, they totaled almost 1.5 million rubles! This is a good reason for concern.

We try to pay maximum attention to the struggle against thefts. Last year and at the beginning of this year we laid the ground for the fast and efficient implementation of the new laws and reorganized our work. Thanks to greater efficiency, compared with 1985, in 1986 big and particularly big thefts and cases of bribery were detected. Several criminal groups of thieves who had stolen people's property and conspired with heads of enterprises and organizations, were exposed.

We must point out that the party committees and soviet authorities have assumed a principle-minded position in cases of criminal prosecution of guilty officials and have supported the decisions of the prosecutor's office. This is very important! In such severe circumstances there are no reasons for guilty managers to believe that they will be protected and that their old merits will be taken into consideration.

Many thefts could have been prevented had planned and circuit audits, inventory-taking and investigations been able promptly to identify omissions in the organization of food supplies and the marketing of commodities. It frequently becomes clear in the investigation of criminal cases that audits made in the course of the past 3, 4 and sometimes even 5 years failed to detect any shortages and thefts, while people's money went into the pockets of the lovers of easy profits. Such was the case, for example, at the store in Veduga Village, Semilukskiy Rayon, the warehouse of the Rembyttekhnik Association, Bobrovskiy Rayon, and some other trade and consumer service enterprises. There, for the past 4 to 5 years, criminals had appropriated with impunity government funds, although repeated investigations had failed to establish any violations in economic activities.

Was this due to the inexperience of the auditors? Was it the particular cleverness of the criminals? It would be naive to believe this in all cases. It is no secret that auditors frequently engage in a criminal conspiracy with the thieves and are substantially rewarded for the protection they offer. How to break this malicious practice which is partially triggered by the



imperfection of the departmental control system? Clearly, it has become necessary to abandon obsolete norms and concepts. The time has come to consider the question of the expediency of combining all control services of different departments within a single service, either an autonomous one or operating as a structural subdivision of the Ministry of Finance. Such reorganization would allow the auditor to act more objectively, avoid the pressure of economic managers and, above all, firmly block the self-seeking efforts of those investigated. It would also help him to eliminate the multiplicity of investigations, duplications and assigning lots of people to draw up reports and prepare materials for investigations.

The security service must be strengthened firmly. For example, at the Voronezh Fats Combine, 14 of the 16 members of the nondepartmental guards brigade are pensioners and one is a disabled person. All of them have difficulty in understanding accountability documents which must be presented when goods are taken out. Need we mention that in its present condition the brigade is unable to offer any whatsoever serious opposition to the thieves. The situation at other enterprises in the food and light industries is similar. The reasons are essentially objective. It is difficult today to hope that accounting specialists and young healthy and strong people will take jobs as nondepartmental guards. Clearly, we cannot do without taking steps which would enhance the social prestige of such work.

So-called petty theft is causing a great deal of damage to the state, although the "income" of the thieves is substantial. Unfortunately, such violations are widespread. They take place day after day, and the harm to our national economy is steadily increasing. In 1985, for example, 6,000 cases of such thefts were exposed in the oblast. Another thousand were prevented. In the first 8 months of 1986, more than 8,000 were detected. Such crimes are abetted above all by poor accountability of material values and poor control over the protection of socialist property. Where are they committed most frequently? At enterprises of the meat, dairy, food and light industry and in construction organizations.

Let us consider the food sector. Here the number of people employed in an enterprise is relatively small. But it is also here that one out of three or four workers is detained every year for "petty" theft. Thus, at the Voronezh Meat Combine, which has slightly over 1,000 workers, 300 (!) thieves were arrested last year. They included not only rank-and-file workers but also middle-level managers. Investigations of the protection of socialist property, meetings with the party and economic activists and, finally, discussions with the workers indicated that in some collectives in said sectors a system of collective guarantees, which has been operating for years, has existed.

Parasitism remains a grave problem. It is a nutritive ground for crime, drunkenness and extraction of unearned income. In 1985 there were some 3,000 people who worked nowhere in the oblast; there were about 1,500 such individuals in the first half of 1986. Jobs were found for more than 1,000 of them; some were sent to medical-labor preventive establishments and some have been punished as criminals.

Let me particularly emphasize, however, that depriving such individuals of their freedom is an extreme measure, for our main task is to involve people engaged in a parasitical way of life in productive work and not isolating them from society. In this case the labor collectives could do a great deal. However, frequently problems of the struggle against such drunks are solved by the collectives with elementary simplicity: they are fired for repeated violations of labor discipline, which the collectives are allowed to do now thanks to article 33 of the KZoT. Is this sensible? With such a labor record one cannot find a job everywhere; furthermore, not everyone is in a hurry to find a job, thus swelling the ranks of the parasites. I believe that however harsh such a measure may seem, at best we are shifting concern for the education of a drunk to other labor collectives. It is much more difficult for us personally to undertake the reeducation of the lovers of alcoholic beverages. A real statesmanlike approach must be displayed in working with them.

It is even more difficult to deal with confirmed loafers who are impervious to any reasoning. Even the strongest production collectives have been so far unable to exert any whatsoever tangible influence on parasites who may be hired but usually, do not stay for more than 1 or 2 months. This is an exceptionally crucial problem and ways for its practical solution must be sought jointly and persistently.

As we know, in addition to thefts and a parasitical way of life, in recent years other means of obtaining unearned income have become widespread. They are related mainly to shortcomings in the development of the production infrastructure and the social sphere. I shall not conceal the fact that in this connection the work of the prosecutor's office has increased. What precisely do I mean?

Although the scale of housing in the oblast has increased, the housing problem remains quite grave. Making use of this, some individuals have turned their housing into a source of unearned income. In their hands the state housing fund has become essentially a means of profit in the pursuit of which, occasionally, some officials join. Abusing their official position, they accept bribes in allocating housing. The renting out of state housing by private citizens who charge higher rent has become a widespread phenomenon. In the past 18 months alone the law enforcement authorities have exposed some 6,000 such cases in the oblast. What has made this possible? The only answer is poor control by the local soviets and trade unions over the allocation and use of housing. The registration of individuals with surplus housing area was not organized.

This situation is being gradually corrected. We have organized the registration of those who need better housing and have strengthened our control over the observance of residential regulations. The prosecution authorities are supervising the leasing of housing. Violations are immediately reported to the local soviets and the party bodies.

We are well aware of the fact that this is only the beginning of extensive work. All channels of unearned income must be blocked. The affected areas, let us say, are quite unexpected. Consider the following example: based on

figure padding reports, the public education authorities were investigated. It was established that figureheads, including kolkhoz members, military servicemen and even pensioners were registered as students of evening and correspondence general education schools. This inflated the staff and provided the legal possibility of paying teachers unearned salaries.

As a result of the exposure of such machinations, 70,000 rubles of illegally earned wages were refunded to the state, and budget allocations for education were reduced by 530,000 rubles. On the instructions of the USSR prosecutor general, such investigations are being conducted elsewhere in the country as well.

Let us particularly mention the use for personal profit of state-owned vehicles. In a number of cases the drivers cleverly use a scarcity of goods and services and the shortage and lack of order in public transportation and adapt themselves properly to the seasonal needs of the population. During the spring and autumn, for example, thousands of people go out of the city during their free days. Unfortunately, the transport enterprises and consumer service organizations failed to consider the problems which this creates. Along all roads leading out of the city, crowds of citizens beg drivers of passing cars to take them to a village. Naturally, this is not done for free and not only by cars which happen to be traveling in that direction but also with vehicles especially procured for that purpose.

Substantial funds are earned from the illegal use of state vehicles and fuel, falling into the hands of dishonest drivers and, sometimes, smart operators behind the scenes. Last year and during the first quarter of this year alone more than 2,500 cases of improper use of motor vehicles or vehicles used openly for self-seeking purposes were uncovered. The personnel of the State Automotive Inspectorate set up patrols touring fuel depots, lumberyards, brickyards and dachas under construction. Typically, the travel voucher of a driver detained at a dacha under construction, to which he was hauling bricks, was already stamped, certifying that he had hauled grain! Obviously, those who had set that stamp had not done it for a simple "thank you." Therefore, we have many more roots of money-grubbing and parasitical mentality to pull out....

Naturally, matters will not improve by "trapping" dishonest drivers. We must organize more quickly the transport servicing of the population. Such work is already in progress. Now enterprise-owned buses travel in directions most favored by those who would like to go out of town. So far, there are few of them but the beginning of a good project has already been organized.

Compensating for the damages caused by a given crime is a special problem. It is an exceptionally crucial one and a great deal of violations of the law have been committed in this area. At the beginning of the 1980s, generally speaking, the average compensation was no more than some 40 percent of the damage caused. Today attention is being paid to this matter during the preliminary investigation itself. Since we are not able to recover everything that was stolen, in the overwhelming majority of cases of criminal prosecution we seize the property which, after the court sentence has been passed, is confiscated as state revenue.

In the first half of this year damage totaling 573,000 rubles was caused by thefts of state and public property and bribery. In the course of the investigations 311,500 rubles (54.4 percent) were actually recovered and property worth 253,000 rubles was seized. Therefore, 95.7 percent of the total amount of damages caused to the state was recovered.

In improving the forms and methods of struggle against unearned income, the personnel of the law enforcement authorities in the oblast realized that a drastic reorientation of all preventive activities is needed. This was particularly pointed out at a recent party obkom plenum, from the critical remarks of which corresponding conclusions are being drawn.

A.M. Voropayev, chairman of the oblast soviet of people's deputies executive committee:

In the past as well we had many good laws which allowed us successfully to struggle against unearned income. However, frankly speaking, poor use was made of them in recent years. The mentality of impunity, and the habit of openly appropriating state or kolkhoz property was being manifested with increasing impudence. Even those who stole on their jobs became to be known, for some reason, by the almost endearing term of "takers."

The party and state regulations which were passed in May gave a new impetus to the work of strengthening law and order and asserting social justice. They are distinguished by their comprehensive approach to solving problems of uprooting unearned income. These documents reflect a strong social policy, in the course of the implementation of which the just allocation of social benefits is accompanied by blocking all loopholes which allow dishonest people to live at the expense of society.

Naturally, I by no means consider that in themselves the decrees will firmly block phenomena alien to the Soviet way of life. Essentially, everything depends on the manner of their implementation. So far, the struggle against unearned income was carried out, as a rule, sporadically and without the necessary aggressiveness. The soviets did not always act consistently and on a principle-minded basis. Control on the part of the deputy commissions, the soviet aktiv and the public was weak.

That is why today the very approach of the soviet and economic authorities to the solution of this grave socioeconomic problem, which has also assumed particular political gravity, must be changed. Above all, we must intensify publicity in the struggle against the lovers of profits and enhance the role of labor collectives and the entire oblast population in creating an atmosphere of universal scorn and intolerance of money-grubbers, bribers, speculators, moonshiners and other antisocial elements. At the same time, persistent organizing work is taking place, the purpose of which is to bring order in the social area where, let us point out, a number of difficult problems arise.

Unearned income is frequently related to lack of control and poor organization of private work. So far, no law has been promulgated on this matter. Unquestionably, such a law would help us to organize this work on a firm legal

basis. Time does not wait, however, and we are forced to proceed, so to say, empirically. Regardless of the difficulties, we are already able to achieve something on the organizational, administrative and educational levels.

We try comprehensively to encourage private work, providing that it does not hinder the participation of the citizens in public production. In this area many conflicting situations and undesirable phenomena arise. Some people become so enthusiastic about private work that they would work for a few days in the kolkhoz and then travel some distance to sell their goods at higher prices. Worse: some swindlers do not produce anything themselves but purchase the produce privately grown by the kolkhoz members who were simply unable to haul them away. We try to convince the people to market the produce from their private plots through the procurement offices. We encourage the chairmen of rural soviets to promote such sales and indicate the need to engage in extensive explanatory and organizational work among the population. However, obstacles exist here which the local soviets cannot remove by themselves. This includes the low prices at which the procurement offices purchase the population's produce, limitations on the volume of purchases, explained by the impossibility of marketing all that was bought, etc. Understandably, such practices do not encourage so-called private entrepreneurs to cooperate with the state.

Here is another example of our sluggishness which makes the life of the speculator easier. In many oblast rayons the people raise soft-haired goats and make shawls, and brooms from sorgo they grow on their private plots. The need for such items is great and they have a wide market. Profiting from the fact that no places for the sale of such items have been assigned, speculators purchase them and resell them elsewhere in the country, thus earning big money. It is thus that last year one Yakimov was able to earn more than 10,000 rubles from speculating in brooms in Tula Oblast. The BKhSS department of Novokhoperskiy Rayon caught the obscene speculator Lukasheva, from whom they confiscated 96 shawls and 36,000 rubles in cash. In the past 18 months internal affairs officials have exposed 42 cases of speculation in such items. We have repeatedly asked the central departments to regulate the sale of such shawls perhaps even through the consumer cooperative system. They are doing nothing while the speculators are not sleeping. They are now dealing also in fluffy goods for children.

By blocking sources of unearned income, the soviet authorities are taking steps aimed at improving the system itself of purchasing goods from the population through the consumer cooperative and broadening commission trade. Following the example of Tomsk Oblast, we have undertaken the building of suitable market places where cottage industry goods can be sold. The work of the cooperative in general, and not only in the struggle against unearned income, must be significantly enhanced. Let us remember the importance which Lenin ascribed to it under socialism.

We are comprehensively assisting in the development of auxiliary farms of enterprises, organizations and private citizens, and collective truck gardening. Let me point out that currently the oblast's truck gardeners' council, which rallies 123 associations, represents the owners of more than 33,000 garden plots. In our oblast 160,000 people are engaged in truck

gardening. To a certain extent, this helps to increase the employment of the population in socially useful labor, to augment the volume of farm produce and the saturation of the market, although here as well by no means have all opportunities been used.

The consumer cooperative in the oblast is becoming more active and so are sovkhoses and kolkhoses in selling their above-plan output in the markets. At the same time, the executive committees of the local soviets and the law enforcement authorities have intensified their struggle against speculations in farm produce and other commodities, including alcoholic beverages.

The CPSU Central Committee decree was discussed extensively by the oblast labor collectives and a number of noteworthy suggestions were formulated. For example, the working people suggest that market prices for agricultural produce be subject to restrictions and that coupons be issued for the purchase of sand, gravel and other construction materials which are not being currently sold, that purchasers be provided with transportation facilities and be allowed to lease housing only through a bureau especially organized for this purpose.

As to housing as a source of unearned income, during the first half of this year alone the administrative authorities have punished about 1,000 individuals who had allowed citizens without residential permits to live in their homes. The financial authorities have intensified their control over the leasing of housing premises, which enabled us to identify an additional 4,378 people who leased out housing without declaring their income to the state. In this case letters and petitions by citizens are of great help to us. As a result of stricter measure taken against violators and increased publicity, today the procedure and order in the allocation of housing are being observed more strictly. Real guarantees are provided seeing to it that people enjoying priority will be able to make use of it. However, we must point out that, obviously, the respective union and republic authorities must make some supplements to existing housing legislation and strengthen the legal foundations on the basis of which the soviets operate in this area.

However, looking at the roots of the problem, we must above all eliminate the scarcity of housing sooner. During the past 5-year period housing in the oblast increased by 3.6 million square meters or 9.7 percent. Kolkhoses, sovkhoses and interfarm enterprises have begun to build more. Individual housing construction has become more active. In the past 5 years citizens built nearly 738,000 square meters of housing. Nevertheless, the oblast's housing problem remains unsolved.

During the 12th 5-year period the share of funds allocated for social development out of the overall volume of capital investments allocated to the oblast will be increased substantially; a considerable share of such funds will be used for housing construction. A total of 4.5 million square meters of housing will be built from all sources of financing, nearly one-third of that in the villages. This will enable us to improve the housing conditions of yet another 134,000 families. By the end of the 5-year period the average housing area per oblast resident will reach 17.8 square meters and as much as 22.8 square meters in the countryside. Particular attention will be paid to



increasing housing construction by enterprises themselves or financed by private citizens.

As to suggestions on administrative control of market prices, I believe that there is no need for special resolutions on lowering their prices. Furthermore, such regulations would be illegal. The only solution is to increase the volume of agricultural commodities sold on kolkhoz and sovkhoz markets. The market needs healthy competition at which point the prices will be standardized.

We are currently trying to resolve this problem on an economic basis. Many vegetables are grown in the oblast on 30 hectares of greenhouses which were built for this purpose. We are encouraging the kolkhozes to take more produce to the market. As we know, the necessary conditions to this effect were created through the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree: the kolkhozes are allowed to sell on the markets up to 30 percent of their produce, considered as part of the fulfillment of their state plan. This is a very important lever of economic influence on the level of the prices which prevail, unfortunately, today on the market. We admit that for the time being the farms are unwilling to engage in such sales. They find it simpler to sell their entire produce to the state procurement organizations rather than learn marketing practices.

Garden plots could be of great help in ensuring the population with food, saturating the market with farm produce and lowering produce prices. As a result of the increased amount of produce marketed, the prices of many types of vegetables, fruits and berries have dropped by nearly 50 percent. The possibilities of truck gardening are by no means exhausted. Individual labor in agricultural production in general should be supported more and encouraged in all possible ways. Unfortunately, the various "prohibitions" which had been imposed in the past made many people unwilling to engage in such work, the more so since approaches to the solution of this problem have frequently changed. To this day, many people are not in a hurry to grow fruits and vegetables on their private plot, fearing that the next administrative turn will find them guilty of extracting unearned income.

Our local soviets must seriously undertake the organization of paid population services, the level and quality of which we still find totally unsatisfactory. The 12th 5-Year Plan calls for a faster increase in the production of consumer and farm goods. As a result of the comprehensive program drafted in the oblast, the production of more than 250 types of new items will be mastered annually. Consumer services will be developed further. By 1990, for example, we are planning to meet in full the demand of the working people for repair of household utensils and custom made clothing and shoes. Construction of garden huts and housing repairs will be tripled; the amount of other consumer services will be increased, particularly in rural areas. The network of take-out cafeterias at enterprises and organizations and specialized and firm stores will be expanded. In order to improve the service industry, students, pensioners and housewives will be recruited more extensively for work at trade and service enterprises.



These are just some of the steps taken in the light of the party's requirements on the development of the social infrastructure, the purpose of which will be to block many channels for the extraction of unearned income in the nonproduction area.

V.N. Ignatov, first secretary, oblast party committee:

Unearned income is a striking contradiction to our socialist way of life and the principles of social justice. Naturally, this is no simple phenomenon. It has a variety of forms. We have only begun to understand the profound social processes hiding behind it.

Success in the struggle against unearned income depends to a decisive extent on the role which the party organizations play in it. As was pointed out at the 27th CPSU Congress, "Seeing shortcomings and faults and their condemnation is not enough; everything possible must be done to eliminate them. There is no vanguard role of the party member in general; it is expressed in practical actions."

One of the most important practical actions is perfecting the distribution mechanism and eliminating wage equalization which is inadmissible under socialism. Practical experience indicates that frequently wages essentially lose their stimulating role and that their levels are totally inconsistent with labor returns. This is manifested in different manners. On the one hand, at enterprises such as those in the food industry, earnings are virtually no more than one-half those of other sectors. Takers have appeared and the flood of requests for resignation has increased. How to counter this? In addition to wage regulating, we must radically change our attitude toward the development of the social sphere of such enterprises and, above all toward housing construction.

On the other hand, currently nearly 70 oblast enterprises are raising wages although output has declined significantly. However well economic managers may be concealing their inability to organize the work on the level of current requirements, one thing is clear: people are receiving unearned rubles and, for the time being, no reliable financial-economic obstacle to this exists.

Matters are no better in the case of bonuses, let us say, for the installation of new equipment. The regulations on material incentive here are "general," which makes it possible to pay a bonus to any worker, from director to watchman. Consider the "13th salary." It is given at the end of the year, based on the results of the work of the enterprise collective and, one would think, should be distributed among the best workers, depending on their personal contribution to overall labor results. In practice, however, virtually everywhere this is a standard addition to the wages of almost all members of the collective. The result is that the idler is essentially the equal of the conscientious worker.

The resulting moral and economic harm is unquestionable. Consequently, the question urgently arises of changing the very approach to wages and regulating them efficiently. Better work must be paid better. Unearned income means not only theft and bribery but also bonuses inconsistent with labor contribution.

Many distorted phenomena in life are the consequence of annoying breakdowns in our national economy. There is unsatisfied demand for some consumer goods and the service industry works poorly, as the result of which favorable conditions appear for speculators or extortionists. The production of high-quality consumer goods and the accelerated development of services are the most important trends in the struggle against unearned income.

Let us frankly say that a number of problems remain unresolved. Thus, not all oblast industrial sectors fulfilled their plans for the first 8 months of this year for the production of consumer goods with the "N" index. The plan for the volume of consumer services was not fulfilled by 22 administrations, organizations and enterprises in the oblast. Services to rural residents were 27 percent fewer than those offered the town population. It is true that today the situation is changing. However, as we are openly being told by the working people, it is still too early to speak of any proper results from steps which we have taken. Without belittling the significance of errors committed locally, we must point out that a number of ministries are unwillingly supporting the initiatives of labor collectives and frequently even hinder them. This can be richly documented. For example, the collective of the Aviation Production Association, which mastered the manufacturing of the small Ivushka washing machine, which is in tremendous demand, displayed great efforts. Yet we see no end to the problem of allowing the production of this item. Is it not time truly to grant the local soviets the right to decide priorities in production for local needs?

The comprehensive oblast program for developing the production of foodstuffs and trade calls for increasing purchases from the population animal husbandry and crop surpluses, some of them through the consumer cooperatives. The network of cooperative food stores in the countryside is increasing and so is the number of specialized consumer service organizations. Several "do-it-yourself," and "skillful hands" type workshops have been opened. By the end of the 5-year period no less than another 30 will be opened. The amount of paid services provided by all production enterprises to whom such activities are not basic will be increased significantly (by a factor of 1.3-1.4). The need for services related to housing construction and repairs, garden huts and the manufacturing and procurement of construction materials will be satisfied in full.

However, here as well there are artificial obstacles. Frequent complaints have been voiced at meetings of labor collectives to discuss party and government decisions on increasing the struggle against unearned income, on the subject of the poor organization of trade in simple items such as nails, screws, metal goods, whitewash, lime and other such items. However, the party and soviet personnel engaged in solving such problems come across restrictive regulations and instructions. Honestly, it is difficult not to be indignant: one has the right to burn or dump materials which are not needed by industry but are needed in daily life yet cannot be sold to the population! Order must be brought in this matter without delay.

Naturally, we do not stand idle. However, the construction of specialized stores for selling production by-products and unsold materials, initiated by party and soviet authorities and collectives of industrial enterprises, does

not provide a complete solution to an urgent problem. Let me give you a specific example: in accordance with the wishes of the working people, the Railroad Cars Repair Plant imeni Telman decided to sell production by-products in a specialized store. The store was built and the people patronize it willingly. Meanwhile, a discussion is in full swing...with the financial authorities on the prices to be charged for production waste. Obviously, such problems must be resolved on a centralized basis; nevertheless, the respective rights of the local authorities should be broadened as well.

The efforts of the local authorities are inadequate in a number of other cases as well. Thus, a study of the situation indicates that a great deal of thievery at construction projects and industrial enterprises was made possible because of the obviously obsolete norms of writing-off raw materials and semi-goods. Frequently, dishonest people profit for their own selfish purposes of the imperfection of production technology, which makes it possible to stockpile and, subsequently, appropriate unaccounted for surpluses. One must quickly develop and apply a new system of scientific standards which would regulate material and labor outlays and which will be an important economic and moral instrument in the struggle against unearned income.

As practical experience has indicated, this struggle occasionally creates new problems which cannot be always predicted in advance. For example, as a result of reducing sales of alcoholic beverages and stricter control, workers in the public catering system, unwilling to tolerate the elimination of an essentially almost legal channel for additional income, began to quit their jobs. A restaurant waiter bluntly said: "I cannot make it without vodka sales and I cannot live on my wage alone!" What to do: Should the wages of workers in trade and public catering be raised because of this? Or are there other ways of solving this problem? For the time being, no answer has been found.

Here is another problem. As we know, the party's decisions call for comprehensively assisting those who would like to trade larger for smaller premises and get rid of unnecessary living space. To a certain extent, this would facilitate the solution of the grave housing problem. However, for the time being an economical exchange of apartments is being poorly encouraged. We have set up an exchange bureau which, however, finds it difficult for the time being to "compete" with brokers who earn a substantial income from their services.

Here is another negative aspect of the problem: stricter supervision over leasing one's premises has led many people to evict their tenants. Where could those people live? This problem has become quite urgent, particularly for students. Unfortunately, for the time being the VUZs are unable to meet in full demand for dormitory space. The only choice left to the students is to convert from full-time to correspondence training. This was what some students in our forestry engineering institute did.

Is this not a paradox? Some people do not know what to do with their surplus housing and others fear to lease them even legally! In this case we can and must apply sooner material and other incentives. In particular, we must more energetically encourage those who are willing to exchange their apartments for

smaller ones. Why not, for example, allow them to live rent-free for 1 or 2 years?

In the struggle against unearned income we ascribe tremendous importance to upgrading the combativeness of party organizations and their interaction with soviets, trade unions, the Komsomol and the large aktiv. Incidentally, now almost all obkom departments are dealing with this matter. This is understandable, for success in this project is possible only by attacking the problem comprehensively. Therefore, the struggle against unearned income must be waged on a single front by administrative authorities, managers, transportation workers, the press, etc.

No less important is the fact that the center of gravity in educational and organizational work is now being shifted to the labor collective. It is precisely the collective that helps to shape and develop within every working person a civic activeness, the high feeling of responsibility and the qualities of the fighter against anything which conflicts with the Soviet way of life. Successful progress is being made precisely in labor collectives where people do not fear to tell the truth and where problems, the discussion of which "was not acceptable" until recently, are being talked about openly.

Let me point out, however, that for the time being by no means are all people acting daringly and with initiative. Discussions at meetings held on unearned income are frequently timid, circuitous and vague. Why? I believe that, among others, because in some collectives such phenomena have become instilled in the minds of the people and characterize their way of life. Let me mention practices of extortion by motor vehicle transportation enterprises and service garages, and thefts in the meat and dairy industry. Such topics were recently discussed at a party meeting in one of the automotive centers of the VAZ. What happened? Discussions on the struggle against unearned income were conducted "generally and as a whole." Everyone approved of the decisions of the party and the government but neither the report nor the speeches named the specific perpetrators of this evil. Is this not a typical example of group egotism, in which common unseemly actions have united to such an extent a certain percentage of the collective that not only self-criticism could not be expected of such a collective but, furthermore, any effort on the part of the comrades to call to order thieves who have gone too far is considered a violation of common interests! In such collectives the party members clearly proved inadequate. For who if not the party members, the primary party organizations, should eliminate an antisocial mentality which is profoundly alien to socialism! Unquestionably, demands on the party members for maintaining a proper moral atmosphere in the collective and a suitable standard of socialist labor discipline should be and will be stricter.

The oblast party committee proceeds from the fact that the struggle against unearned income should be waged in an atmosphere of broad publicity. There have been aktiv meetings and conferences on this topic in virtually all oblast rayons. Heads of party, soviets, economic, law enforcement and financial authorities are addressing the working people on such topics. The discussions are frank and strict.

The party's guidance of law enforcement authorities is strengthening and forms of cadre upbringing are improving. There is a great need for this, if we bear in mind that the personnel of such agencies themselves have not always been distinguished by their moral cleanliness. In order to enhance the responsibility of the law enforcement authorities for their work and the role of the party committees in guiding their activities, every quarter we analyze the joint work done within each rayon. The results are summed up with the mandatory participation of party workers. The role of accountability reports submitted by the prosecutor's office, the militia and the courts to labor collectives on the struggle against delinquencies, drunkenness and unearned income is being enhanced. Managers of industrial and agricultural enterprises and school principals are being asked to participate in such work. The primary duty of the party committees is comprehensively to assist in asserting in our lives the Leninist requirement of the strict and ubiquitous observance of the law by everyone without exception.

The struggle against unearned income and violations of the principles of socialist justice is an inseparable component of the strategy of acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development. Its most difficult part, in my view, is a restructuring of the ordinary mentality, the formulation of an accurate social evaluation--political, legal and moral--of negative phenomena. It must be a question of developing a public opinion aimed at the total elimination of unearned income and unconditional condemnation of those who live according to standards alien to socialist society. We consider the meaning of ideological, political-educational and organizational work also in making the struggle against unearned income the personal matter of the working people themselves. The efficiency of this struggle depends on our principle-mindedness and the consistency and aggressiveness of the party members.

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## CONTEMPORARY WORLD: TRENDS AND CONTRADICTIONS

### SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL PROGRESS IS INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE ARMS RACE, WAR!

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[Article by L. Feoktistov, deputy director of the Nuclear Energy Institute imeni I.V. Kurchatov, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member, hero of socialist labor]

[Text] In the nuclear age there neither is nor could there be a sensible alternative to peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems and to the establishment of relations of confidence and cooperation among peoples. This truth, which has been systematically asserted by the CPSU and the Soviet state and which was given an impressive development in the 15 January and 18 August 1986 declarations by M.S. Gorbachev and in his answers to the questions asked by the editor in chief of the Czechoslovak newspaper RUDE PRAVO, must become the absolute foundation for present-day political thinking. The need for this is confirmed by a mass of political, social and economic arguments.

A thermonuclear war cannot be a means of solving contradictions in the international arena, for it would have no winners and only losers. If war in general is the extension of policy by other means, today such means are such that a thermonuclear war could be the extension of nothing but a suicidal criminal policy which threatens all mankind with death.

Furthermore, a war which has not even been started but which exists, so to speak as a potential, in the guise of heaps of increasingly destructive weapons, which are growing with every passing day, is causing mankind most severe harm. Preparations for war and the arms race not only poison the international climate but also unproductively waste masses of human labor and huge raw material, energy and other resources. It sometimes looks as though increased war industry output contributes to economic growth as a whole. Thus, for example, average annual data for 1960-1979 indicate that, although being in a leading position in the level of militarization of its economy, among the 13 developed capitalist countries, the United States was in 11th place in terms of the real growth rates of its GNP; it was 13th in the share of capital investments in the GNP, 11th in the growth of labor productivity in the processing industry and first in the level of unemployment.

## Danger of Technological Catastrophe

I am neither a sociologist nor an economist and therefore there is nothing I can add to the numerous arguments which disprove the concept of war and preparations for war as an "efficient" instrument for attaining political objectives or a means of accelerated economic growth. As a scientist and a specialist in nuclear physics and nuclear power industry, I deem it my duty to contribute to the removal of yet another prejudice which, unfortunately, still prevails in the minds of a substantial number of people, including scientists and politicians: the view that war and the war industry are allegedly inevitable and necessary fellow-travelers, boosters and almost sources of scientific and technical progress. With the greatest sense of responsibility let me say that this is either a delusion or a malicious lie deliberately cultivated by the ideologues of the military-industrial complex and the defenders of the arms race.

For example, they try to prove that since scientific and technical progress cannot be banned by any type of agreements, it will continue to bring to life new weaponry systems, including strategic ones. Arguments of this kind are particularly popular today in justifying Reagan's "star war" program, in connection with which a noisy campaign has been launched in the United States in favor of updating nuclear armaments. With the help of the notorious E. Teller, a new, third stage in perfecting weapons has been proclaimed. The first stage was known by all; the second stage was marked by the appearance of the "Minutemen" and the "Posseidons;" the time has now come for the third stage, which consists of developing weapons with guided and so-called "surgical," "decapitating" action. Among these categories the notorious neutron bomb is considered no more than a primitive predecessor. The hopes are concentrated above all on the x-ray laser triggered by an exploding nuclear bomb. One does not have to be a specialist to realize the difficulty of this task. It is difficult even to determine in the case of such a means of controlling a nuclear explosion what prevails here: speculation or technology. Nevertheless, it was hastily announced that a long permanent cycle of studies, lasting 10 to 15 years, will be undertaken, for exclusively defensive purposes, whereas the people who are in favor of freezing nuclear weapons and ending nuclear tests are considered short-sighted, to say the least. All of this is taking place under the banner of scientific and technical progress and the concept of its invincibility.

However, scientific and technical progress cannot be conceived of in abstract terms. It is inseparable from social development within the framework of a specific socioeconomic system and means of material production; it is based on and can be properly assessed only within this concept. And if the capitalist production method converts the productive forces of society (which are becoming increasingly commensurable with the forces of nature) into destructive forces, such conversion, however high the achievements of science and technology on which it is based may be, cannot be considered progress either in their social or strictly scientific and technical aspects.

As to the latter, in assessing it the following must be considered: science and materialized human labor in equipment and technology of scientific knowledge form, in their unity, an increasingly complex system, all the



elements of which are closely interrelated. Not even the greatest development of individual elements can be classified as progress unless it leads to the development of the system as a whole, and even less so if it is deforming the system or even threatening its existence. If we look at the contemporary development of science and technology from such a viewpoint, it will turn out that such development is becoming increasingly incompatible with the existence within it of elements the purpose of which is destructive.

Today the public is very aware of the exceptionally delicate nature and vulnerability of the biosphere and the brittleness of the ecological balance within it. However, one must realize equally firmly that a technological environment created by man and a production infrastructure is no less brittle and vulnerable. Here as well likely irreversible changes would occur should its key elements be destroyed or damaged. This applies, above all, to various types of electric power plants--thermal, nuclear and hydraulic (their dams and reservoirs in particular), metallurgical, chemical and biotechnological enterprises, petroleum and gas pipelines, storage areas, etc. Under contemporary conditions the line which separates the consequences of the use of conventional weapons and mass destruction weapons is being gradually eliminated, particularly in the industrially developed countries.

For example, large modern industrial cities consume tens of millions of tons of standard fuel every year. With a 1-month fuel supply in hand, the uncontrolled and fast burning of such a quantity of fuel will trigger violent fires with a total release of energy equivalent to dozens of megatons of trotylene. A simple computation would also show that the destruction of a large chemical enterprise (or a petroleum and gas storage dump) even by conventional weapons could cause an explosion and a fire the overall heat release of which would be comparable to that of a nuclear explosion of medium strength. The destruction of the dam of a big hydroelectric power plant would entail catastrophic floods over thousands of square kilometers; in this case earthquakes caused by the drastic redistribution of the load on the tectonic plates would not be excluded. The release of chemically (or biologically) active agents in the destruction of respective industrial enterprises could have the same consequences to the environment as conducting military operations on the same territory involving the use of chemical (or biological) weapons. The destruction of nuclear power plants with "conventional" weapons could turn out to be fully equivalent to the use of radiological weapons.

Mankind has already faced such cases. For example, in December 1984, as a result of an accident, a major leak of methylisocyanate--a toxic substance similar to phosgene, which was used in World War I, but five times as toxic, occurred at the pesticide-manufacturing plant of the American multinational Union Carbide Corporation, in the Indian city of Bhopal. More than 2,500 people died and 335,000 were injured; 85,000 of them were severely poisoned.

Another worrisome warning signal was sounded recently. On the night of 25 April, as a result of gross violations of operational regulations, the reactor of the fourth turbine at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant was destroyed, accompanied by the burning of graphite and the release of radioactive isotopes in the air. In assessing the consequences of the catastrophe it is important to distinguish between mechanical (explosion) and radiation aspects. Whereas

in terms of the mechanical influence the effect can be considered moderate, and essentially affecting only the reactor buildings, the same cannot be said in the least so far as the radioactivity aspect is concerned. Although the radioactive fallout of the splitting of uranium released outside the plant were insignificant, obviously a great deal of time will be needed to eliminate the consequences of the accident.

Since the reactor of the fourth unit of the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant contained approximately 200 tons of uranium, its active isotope--U-235--accounted for about 3 tons. This amount of U-235 far exceeds the amount contained in a nuclear bomb. Nevertheless, the people have long learned to operate in such a way that any difficulties within the reactor may not be similar, even remotely, to a nuclear explosion. This, however, affects only the destructive or mechanical aspect of the matter. Let me point out that in the Chernobyl accident as well many of the mechanisms and installations, including the windows of buildings in the immediate vicinity of the center (tens of meters) were not broken. Had everything been reduced merely to the destruction of the reactor hull, the scale of the accident could have been considered of local importance. However, the phenomenon assumed a catastrophic nature for one reason only. In the course of the operation of the reactor about 1 ton of radioactive fission fragments had piled up. The release of even a small percentage of the amount resulted in significant radioactive pollution of the environment. The measures to deactivate the immediate and more distant areas are the most difficult and expensive among those currently being taken by the state to eliminate the consequences of the accident.

The accident was instructive from the military point of view as well. As M.S. Gorbachev said in his 18 August address on Soviet television, the two tragedies related to technology of the nuclear space age--the death of the Challenger crew and the Chernobyl accident--"increased our concern, cruelly reminding us that people are only beginning to get used to the fantastically powerful forces they have brought to life themselves and are only learning how to put them on the service of progress. These events were an object lesson of what could happen if nuclear weapons are used." With all of this, we must remember that the Chernobyl accident was the prototype of action of a very "modest" atom bomb, involving nothing but radioactive contamination at that, without a destructive shock wave and violent fires.

The tragic Chernobyl experience raised a number of questions in the public in our country and abroad. The first of them is "Could the accident have been avoided?" Now, when the reasons have been determined more or less, "playing back" past events, one could most clearly affirm that "yes, it could have."

Another question arises: "Are there constructive solutions and technical systems, including automation, which could prevent severe consequences similar to those of Chernobyl?" If what we mean by severe consequences is the leakage of radioactivity beyond the station, endangering the population and fraught with international complications, it is absolutely necessary to answer this question in the affirmative. It is vitally important to find solutions of a technical and regulatory nature, which would maximally localize any possible danger. Such solutions can and must be found. Optimistic forecasts on this

account are based on the technical study of the operation of nuclear reactors and even the fruitful experience in international cooperation. However, here it is a matter not only of strictly technical problems. As in anything else, the human factor must play a decisive role. Strictest possible discipline and responsibility and extreme honesty and practicality are demanded of all workers one way or another involved in the nuclear power industry. That is why the CPSU Central Committee Politburo deemed it necessary in its special session to strengthen the party's leadership and control in this area. No one needs empty promises and cheerful assertions that all problems will be solved as soon as possible. The right of the nuclear power industry to exist should be proved through actions and not words.

Nuclear power plants are an important component of the modern power industry. The extensive use of nuclear and thermonuclear energy sources, as computations indicate, can fully meet the needs of mankind. Therefore, we cannot abandon their development. The solution, consequently, is to perfect the reactors, above all from the viewpoint of safety. All the necessary prerequisites exist for the world community to be able to cope with this task. What is needed is broad international cooperation and corresponding agreements of a technical and political nature.

The first and very important steps in this direction were taken at the special session of the MAGATE General Conference, which was recently held in Vienna, and at which the Soviet Union submitted a broad program for drafting an international safety system for the development of the nuclear power industry. As was noted in the 30 September Soviet government declaration, "Once again the new approach to mutual understanding, trust and openness in relations among countries triumphed in Vienna." Unanimously adopted at the session was a "Convention on Fast Information About a Nuclear Accident" and a "Convention on Help in the Case of a Nuclear Accident or a Radiation Accident Situation."

Naturally, the existence of such agreements and the organization of an efficient international system for securing and controlling the safety of operations of nuclear power plants is possible only under the conditions of a durable peace. Otherwise events would inevitably get out of control. As we pointed out, the destruction of modern industrial projects, nuclear power plants in particular, on the territories of developed countries would greatly worsen the already horrible consequences of a war.

The quantitative measure for assessing the additional danger caused by the nuclear power industry in the case of any kind of war--nuclear or "conventional"--could be the overall generating capacity of nuclear power plants relative to the size of the area where such plants are located (for the USSR, its European part; for the NATO countries, the territory of Western Europe; England, France and the FRG; for the United States, its entire territory with the exception of Alaska). Considering the rather substantial number of nuclear power plants, such an averaged figure would be a most natural means of comparison, for the length of the radioactive trace in the case of a destruction would be in the range of several hundred kilometers downwind and such traces would overlap on a width of tens of kilometers.

Let us consider the following table. The conclusion we can draw from its data needs no comment.

Country	Area, Millions of sq km	Total Nuclear Power Plant Capacity, 1984 Gigawatts	Average Capacity, Kilowatt per sq km	Average Contaminated Area on the level of 2 ber* per year, after 1 year, in terms of the area, %	Same but on the level of 100 ber annually, 1 year later
USSR (European part)	3.4	18(150)**	5.3(44)	15(130)	3(26)
United States (excluding Alaska)	9.3	60(200)	6.5(22)	19(65)	4(13)
NATO (without the U.S.)	1.0	60(150)	60 (150)	180(450)	36(90)

\*ber—Roentgen biological equivalent.

\*\*The figures in parentheses indicate projected values for the year 2000.

A particularly difficult situation is already developing in the Western European countries, where a contaminated area (based on medical standards) in the case of war and destruction of nuclear power plants, could extend to the entire area. The question is: What would be the objective consequences for scientific and technical progress, which is vitally needed by mankind, if the threat of war and armed conflicts remain? Obviously, they would be the most tragic. Its tremendous constructive potential would become increasingly destructive with every passing year. This raises the question not only of the immorality of war and the danger of the use of military power and its incompatibility with the standards of international law but also the incompatibility between war and scientific and technical progress. The normal functioning and development of contemporary technology totally precludes the admissibility of the use of any weaponry systems whatsoever—not only those of mass destruction but also of so-called "conventional" armaments.

#### Senseless Waste of the Creative Potential of Science

A modern tank, a fighter-bomber, an intercontinental ballistic missile, a cruise missile, a nuclear submarine, an assault aircraft carrier, armed with the most powerful weapons and complex communications and control systems, made of perfect materials and with advanced technologies...to which, tomorrow incomparably more complex and expensive space combat ships and stations may be added, are an impressive display of the concentration and material embodiment of the achievements of science and the human mind, talent and effort! The display is impressive but also bitter, for in this case the mind, talent and labor are essentially wasted and even harmful to man.

Nevertheless, the ordinary person may ask, is all of this useless? Bourgeois propaganda immediately latches on to this question. The ideologues of imperialism suggest to the ignorant or the naive that the development and production of ever new armament systems advance faster than anything else. Basic and applied scientific research and most efficiently contribute to unraveling the secrets of nature and to strengthening the technological power

of mankind. It is claimed that it was precisely for military purposes that inexhaustible sources of energy were discovered initially and will continue to be discovered, and that essentially new construction materials, means of transportation, communications and control systems and computers were developed and so were advanced production technologies, all of which, in the course of time, will find their application in civilian production sectors and, in the final account, will contribute to the good of mankind. In a word, those who try to win the competition in the field of technology of the future should not be at the tail-end of scientific and technical progress but must simply actively urge on the arms race.

Let us try to analyze the accuracy of such information and views.

It is true that the war industry is much more science-intensive than civilian production. According to the World Federation of Scientists, the cost of scientific research and experimental design (NIOKR) per unit of war output is approximately 20 times that of similar expenditures per unit of civilian output. All this means, however, is that the military area absorbs a disproportionately higher share of the intellectual resources of society: a specific amount of funds invested in military research and development yields returns 20 times lower than if used in the civilian area. Meanwhile, increasing volumes of resources are being appropriated for military requirements. According to United Nations data, in 1980 the cost of military research and development was approximately \$35 billion, or about one-quarter of worldwide NIOKR expenditures.

No human or material resource absorbed by military activities is comparable in scale and misorientation with global NIOKR expenditures. In 1980 such expenditures equaled the sum of capital investments in basic science, research in the power industry, health care, transportation and data processing, the struggle against environmental pollution, agriculture and other similar areas of the civilian sector. About 500,000 of the 3 million scientists and engineers working in scientific laboratories throughout the world were specifically engaged in the development of new armament systems. Adding to their number specialists who are directly or indirectly participating in activities of a military nature, the scale of this inefficient utilization of manpower becomes even more alarming. In 1981 more than one-half of the adult population in the world was illiterate, while more than 70 million people with some technical training and theoretical knowledge were engaged, directly or indirectly, in military activities. As a result, tremendous forces are being diverted from solving most vital scientific and technical, economic and social problems.

Ending the arms race and achieving disarmament are steadily becoming a necessary prerequisite not for the one-sided but the harmonious progress of science and technology, consistent with its humanistic nature. As M.S. Gorbachev noted in his 18 August declaration, "Aggravation and global problems are characteristic of the present world. They cannot be solved without the joint efforts of all countries and peoples. The conquest of space and the depths of the ocean, ecology, epidemics, poverty and backwardness are all realities of this age which demand international attention, international responsibility and international cooperation.... Here as well disarmament

could play a tremendous role by releasing a substantial share of funds and intellectual and technical potential for creative purposes." Many scientists, who are studying the influence of technology on socioeconomic development, believe that if the billions of dollars spent on military research and development throughout the world after World War II had been channeled into scientific and technical areas which are considered most promising from the viewpoint of economic progress, today mankind would have achieved something which, possibly, it will be unable to achieve on the technical level even by the year 2000.

If we look at scientific and technical progress in all its aspects, we see that it is stimulated, above all, by the requirements of the civilian and not the military sector. It is precisely progress in the civilian sector that plays a decisive role in upgrading productivity and in economic growth. The development of military technology has never been a totally efficient means of acceleration of scientific and technical progress. It is true that on the surface a number of facts seem to prove that such a "circuitous way" is nevertheless quite efficient. For example, the decisive new technological developments in electronics were achieved in the military and before the area of civilian production. Nevertheless, this does not prove the greater flexibility and efficiency of military research and development in terms of its influence on the national economy as a whole. The conditions which govern the development of new technologies in the civilian sectors are different. The example of Japan, which reached a high level in microelectronics and has become a major competitor of the United States without said military "circuitous way," practically refutes the thesis of the vanguard role of military technology. This is also confirmed by the fact that, while wasting increasing efforts on military objectives, the United States has already largely lost its leading global positions in science and technology. Whereas in 1963 its share in world trade in "high technology" was 25 percent, by 1982 it had dropped to 17.8 percent. Meanwhile, Japan increased its share from 4 to 17.4 percent, although its economic and scientific and technical potential amounted to no more than one-quarter of that of the United States.

So far, military technology has yielded rather small results of direct decisive importance to scientific and technical progress in civilian sectors. Naturally, many civilian sectors in modern industry owe their existence and upsurge to technical progress in the military sector. For example, the technology for the production of high-quality metal is based on that applied in the manufacturing of gun barrels and armor. To a certain extent, the transportation sector is related to progress in military transportation. The technology used in the creation of modern naval ships is used in building commercial vessels; civil aviation is closely related to the production of combat aircraft. However, the significance of the military sector in civilian production is frequently exaggerated and the correlation between them is misinterpreted. Despite the popular view, the military area borrows much more from the civilian than vice-versa. Thus, for example, the practical possibility of developing nuclear weapons was prepared as a result of strictly peaceful and abstract academic studies of the atomic nucleus, conducted by scientists in different countries over a long period of time.



Hopes that the results of military research and development can find extensive application in civilian areas are essentially groundless. To begin with, the "circuitous way" of scientific and technical progress is costing mankind a great deal more than the direct way. Secondly, only 20 percent of the results of military NIOKR may be of somewhat substantial use for civilian purposes. According to other estimates, this indicator is even lower. This is related, above all, to the fact that demand for military output significantly exceed the standards acceptable in civilian areas. Indeed, what could the civil purposes be of an airplane with a variable wing shape, flying at supersonic speeds, undetectable by radar, flying close to the very surface of the ground, or of a laser gun which can strike a target thousands of kilometers away?

The "star wars" program, the defenders of which have promised mankind tremendous technological benefits, will lead to nothing other than the development of a number of "exotic" types of equipment, not only useless for peaceful purposes but also fatally dangerous. The broad scientific public is becoming increasingly aware of this; its view was expressed by the World Federation of Scientists: "Scientists in different countries are working on the military use of space. This may be consistent with their individual creative plans and supply them with funds and equipment and may have given them a social status. However, the majority of scientific workers realize that the tremendous cost of the arms race in space will absorb resources which could be allocated for the peaceful conquest of space. Reducing funds for peaceful purposes will narrow the range of application of scientific knowledge. It will undermine international cooperation among scientists in the study of outer space, without which one can hardly conceive of scientific and technical progress and full benefits from the efforts of the international scientific community in the interest of mankind. Such a negative course of events will, unquestionably, affect above all scientists and specialists in countries which lack adequate scientific and technical and economic potential for reaching outer space by themselves. Such countries need information obtained with the help of space facilities in forecasting natural disasters, looking for mineral resources, developing means of communications and ensuring the more efficient use of agricultural, forest and other natural resources and protecting the environment. The moral obligation of mankind is not to waste scientific and technical potential on doubtful objectives but to use it in solving global problems, specifically in the struggle against hunger and for improving housing conditions and medical services to the population" ("The Arms Race in Space Must be Prevented." World Federation of Scientists, 1985, pp 43-44).

Nor is there any need especially to prove that the militarization of space research and of science as a whole erects virtually insurmountable barriers on the way to the development of science and technology in the liberated countries, worsening their technological and socioeconomic backwardness. In addition to the fact that this situation undermines the status of scientific knowledge as a universal gain, it is fraught with negative consequences in the development of science as a whole: the lagging of a large group of countries and peoples will not benefit the developing countries. That is precisely why the Soviet Union submitted to the United Nations, as an alternative to the "star wars" program a program for building a "star peace," and for the creation of a universal space organization. This and other programs for



international cooperation would enable all nations to benefit from the treasury of world science and put such treasury on the service of social progress.

Finally, we cannot ignore yet another extremely important aspect--the moral one. This side of the problem was quite well described by M. Wilkins, the noted British biophysicist, Nobel Prize winner and president of the British Society for Social Responsibility in Science: "Militarization clashes with the basic principles of science. Like war, it entails not only the development of a system of secrecy and concealment of information but also of disinformation of the real or potential enemy. It introduces elements of fraud and dishonesty, incompatible with the nature of science. Furthermore, militarization restricts the freedom of publication, communication and encounters. It conflicts with the social nature of science, international cooperation among scientists, open science and freedom of scientific research... Dishonesty undermines the ideals of sciences. The rejection of such ideals is caused not only by the fact that science has created great dangers for mankind but also that scientists are not always able to live in accordance with their ideals. As a result, science has lost a great deal from the viewpoints of honesty and dignity. The neglect of ideals in science frequently leads to the fact that scientists become self-assured, arrogant and even hypocritical. They begin to believe that science is the occupation of the elite--superior beings with a special morality, common sense and wisdom. Such arrogance leads them to the conclusion that complex human problems can be solved through technical means. The final and quite alarming consequence of such narrow-mindedness is the concept that the 'Strategic Defense Initiative' will make it possible to prevent a nuclear war. Furthermore, the blind reliance on science leads to the use of its prestige to justify social evil. For example, in arguments about races and mental capabilities, scientific ideas are groundlessly used in support of social prejudice" (MIR NAUKI, No 2, 1986, pp 14-15).

In summing up a few results, let me reemphasize that war or even merely preparations for war hinder and clash with the normal development of science and technology in all areas--technological, cognitive and moral. Furthermore, steady scientific and technical progress offers a number of new material prerequisites for reducing the threat of war and establishing a lasting peace on earth. Today this applies in particular to the possibility of reliable technical control over underground nuclear tests. The use of seismological equipment installed by American scientists in the area of Semipalatinsk proved this opportunity once again. Typically, the supporters of the "theory" of the infinite possibilities of scientific and technical progress in the military area reject the accuracy of data in this case. Obviously, this does not apply to technical control difficulties but the lack of political will to end nuclear tests, precisely the will which was demonstrated by the Soviet Union by extending its moratorium on nuclear explosions to 1 January 1987. The conclusion is that the achievements of scientific and technical progress will truly serve the cause of peace and the good of mankind only if they are based on political and social progress.

Finally, in industry, including the nuclear power industry, the concept of risk is used in optimizing expenditures for ensuring safety; roughly speaking, this means the likelihood of an accident or damage (consequence) caused by such an accident. The risk of nuclear war is tremendous, for its consequence may be the death of mankind and the likelihood of its outbreak, although not subject to precise quantitative determination, is, unquestionably, a value higher than zero and, for the time being, unfortunately, an increasing one. A number of studies have already proved that mankind will be unable substantially to reduce the damage caused by a nuclear war and to reduce to zero the likelihood of its outbreak. In this sense, the investment of any amount of efforts and resources in detente and disarmament and instilling confidence among countries is justified. The foreign policy of our party, aimed in that direction enjoys, therefore, the total and undivided support of Soviet scientists.

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## PAGES FROM HISTORY

### OUTSTANDING SON OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE

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[Article by B. Borodin; written on the occasion of the 120th anniversary of the birth of Sun Yat-sen]

[Text] V.I. Lenin described Sun Yat-sen as a revolutionary democrat, full of nobility and heroism. This concise Leninist description reflects Sun Yat-sen's ideological beliefs and lofty human qualities and militant revolutionary spirit. Sun Yat-sen dedicated his entire conscious life to the struggle for a free, independent and prosperous China, which would assume an equal status with the other countries and make a worthy contribution to world progress. The historical merit of this outstanding Chinese revolutionary, respectfully known by the people as the "father of the nation," is that, surmounting a difficult and conflicting quest, in the final account he drew accurate conclusions on the means of making his homeland great.

The example of the Great October Revolution and the building of a new society in the USSR together with his rich personal experience, convinced Sun Yat-sen that China's bright future could not be ensured without drastically breaking down its existing semi-feudal and semi-colonial foundations and without waging a decisive struggle against imperialism. Sun Yat-sen's wisdom and perspicacity were manifested in the fact that in the final years of this life he began to realize the importance of the support of the broad peasant and worker masses, listened to the view of Chinese communists and closely cooperated with them.

Sun Yat-sen had a touching understanding of and total admiration for Lenin, whom he considered his friend (see Sun Yat-sen, "Izbr. Proizv." [Selected Works], Moscow, 1985, p 300). He highly valued the experience of the Bolshevik Party and tried creatively to borrow from it whatever was suitable for China. As a warm supporter of friendship with the Soviet Union, Sun Yat-sen wanted China and the land of the soviets to struggle together for common ideals.

The Chinese revolutionary leader was a zealous patriot and convinced internationalist. He was excited by and concerned not only for the destinies

of China but also for those of the oppressed nations of other countries in Asia. He actively supported international anti-imperialist solidarity.

Justifiably, the name of Sun Yat-sen is among those of the most outstanding revolutionary fighters and thinkers of all times and peoples.

#### Path to Revolution

Sun Yat-sen was born on 12 November 1866 in Cuiheng village, the former Xiangshan District, Guangdong Province, to a peasant family. The village was 37 kilometers away from the Portuguese colony of Macao. A 16-kilometer strip of land and the bay of the South China Sea separated the hamlet from the British territory of Hong Kong. Profiting from the vicinity of such staging posts, many local people who were in need and suffered from the arbitrary behavior of feudal officials, looked for a living and happiness overseas. One of them was Sun Yat-sen's elder brother, who settled in the Hawaiian Islands and prospered. With his help, Sun Yat-sen was able to complete an English-language school in Honolulu and then earn a medical degree in Guangzhou and Hong Kong. After practicing for a while in Macao, Sun Yat-sen was forced to abandon his practice because of the intolerable attitude of the European physicians toward their Chinese colleagues. Since then he dedicated himself to the struggle against national oppression and social injustice, for the elimination of the political and economic backwardness of his country and for a better life for the people. At that time the Chinese revolutionaries considered the Manchurian Ching dynasty (1644-1911), which ruled China, the only culprit for the calamitous situation of the people's masses. Since his youth Sun Yat-sen had been connected with the anti-Manchurian secret societies. In his mature age he became convinced of the need for the violent overthrow of the Ching monarchy, which was the main obstacle on the way to China's progressive development.

In 1894 Sun Yat-sen created in the Hawaiian Islands a revolutionary organization--the Alliance for the Rebirth of China. It included members of the bourgeoisie and European-educated bourgeois intelligentsia. This deeply secret and relatively small group of conspirators set as its objective the overthrow of the Ching dynasty and the establishment of a democratic government. In 1895 the alliance attempted to organize an armed uprising in Guangzhou. The conspiracy was exposed and many of its participants detained. The Ching authorities sentenced Sun Yat-sen to death in absentia, and Sun Yat-sen left the country. He lived in various countries in Asia, America and Europe, engaging in anti-Ching agitation among the Chinese emigres and studying the main trends of foreign sociopolitical thinking.

During his stay in Great Britain (1896-1897) Sun Yat-sen was in touch with members of the Russian political Narodnik exiles. One of his friends was the Narodnik and poet F.V. Volkhovskaya, who had escaped from Siberia and organized in London the "Free Russian Press Foundation." Apparently, the name of Sun Yat-sen became first known in Russia in 1897, after he was written up in the journal RUSSKOYE BOGATSTVO.

The 1905-1907 revolution in Russia--the first people's revolution in the age of imperialism--influenced the upsurge of the labor movement in the West and

the national liberation movement in the East. China became involved, along with other countries, in a process which Lenin described as the "awakening of Asia." The leader of the Russian and world proletariat, who closely followed events in China, wrote that "the strong growth of the 'new spirit' and 'European influences' in China, particularly after the Russo-Japanese war, was unquestionable and that, consequently, equally inevitable was the transformation of the ancient Chinese rebellions into a conscious democratic movement" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 17, p 179).

On the basis of the unification of the Alliance for the Rebirth of China with the other patriotic anti-Manchurian organizations of a bourgeois-democratic and bourgeois-landowning type, who were primarily in exile, in the summer of 1905, in Tokyo, Sun Yat-sen created a larger and more representative organization--the Chinese Revolutionary United Alliance--which, for brevity, took the name of United Alliance. On the subject of the name given the organization, Sun Yat-sen said: "At that time the word 'revolution' still frightened many people. That is why we described the organization simply as the United Alliance. It is under that name that it subsequently was recorded by history" (Sun Yat-sen, op cit., pp 235-236). Only 1 year after its creation, the alliance had as many as 10,000 members.

The theory of the "three popular principles," which became the ideological and political foundation of the association, was formulated and substantiated by Sun Yat-sen, who was under the influence of traditional Chinese economic concepts and European socialist theories, in 1905. The principles were the following: nationalism (overthrow of the foreign Manchurian-Ching dynasty and restoration of the sovereignty of the Chinese nation); democracy (the establishment of a bourgeois republic in China) and people's well-being (state control over industry and development of natural resources through the nationalization of enterprises, railroads and the land). Sun Yat-sen considered the "three popular principles" similar to the problems being solved by the Russian revolution.

The journal MIN PAO ("People"), the printed organ of the United Alliance, quickly became popular among and earned the sympathy of the progressive Chinese exiles and spread within China itself. It extensively covered the development of the revolution in Russia and called for the study of its example.

Sun Yat-sen showed great interest in the experience of the Russian revolution. He gathered such experience not only from the press but also his personal contacts with Russian social democrats and members of other parties which participated in the Russian revolutionary movement. In 1905, in Paris, on his way to Japan, Sun Yat-sen met G.V. Chicherin, who was a member of the RSDWP, and had a long talk with him about the revolution. In Japan he discussed the ways and means of struggle with noted members of the Russian and international revolutionary movements: N.K. Sudzilov, the Narodovolets B.D. Orzhikh and with G.A. Gershuni, one of the organizers and leaders of the S.R. Party. At that time Sun Yat-sen did not distinguish among the revolutionary trends existing in Russia, considering all "nihilist" trends revolutionary. He was interested in the experience of all Russian revolutionaries. In his speech at a meeting in Tokyo, in 1906, on the occasion of the anniversary of MIN PAO, in

speaking of the struggle waged by the Russian "nihilists" for a democratic system, Sun Yat-sen said that "such a system would be most suitable for China as well" (Ibid, p 112).

The Russian political exiles in Japan helped the Chinese revolutionaries both with words and actions. They procured and made for their fellow-workers in the revolutionary struggle weapons, trained them in making and using explosives, etc. The activities of Japanese socialists had a revolutionizing influence on the Chinese democratic exiles. Noted Japanese socialists, such as Dendziro Kotoku and Sen Katayama, wrote article for MIN PAO, calling upon the Chinese democrats to cooperate in the struggle for social change in the oriental countries.

The first contacts between Chinese and Vietnamese revolutionaries took place in Tokyo, in 1905. Sun Yat-sen met with Phan Bui Tao, a revolutionary-democratic ideologue in the Vietnamese national liberation movement and organizer and head of the Society for the Renovation of Vietnam. After the headquarters of the United Alliance was moved to Hanoi in November 1906, the links between the Chinese and Vietnamese revolutionary organizations strengthened even further. The Vietnamese revolutionaries became not only the witnesses but occasionally also the participants in the armed uprising in the southern provinces prepared by the Chinese revolutionaries.

Singapore became Sun Yat-sen's main residence from the spring of 1908 to the spring of 1909. In 1909-1911 once again he went to Europe, Japan and the United States for the purpose of consolidating revolutionary forces and collecting funds for the actions being prepared against the Ching regime. All in all, between 1906 and 1911, the United Alliance prepared and carried out more than 10 antigovernmental armed uprisings in various provinces in southern, central and eastern China.

Although all of these actions ended in defeat, they influenced the growing revolutionary situation. The young bourgeoisie which emerged in the political arena and the new bourgeoisified landowners were interested in the removal of the Ching monarchy, which was hindering the country's development. The peasantry and the lower urban classes were rising in the antigovernmental and antifeudal struggle. Revolutionary work was being carried out in the armed forces, under the guidance of the United Alliance.

Finally, a victorious uprising of the garrison in Wuchan, on 10 October 1911, marked the beginning of the 1911-1913 Chinese revolution. It was known as the Xinhai Revolution, for having started in the year of Xinhai according to the lunar calendar. Participating in it were soldiers, workers, artisans, peasants from the suburban villages, students and members of the petite bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia. The main result of the revolution was the overthrow of the feudal-monarchic system, which had existed in the country for more than 2,000 years, and the proclamation of the Republic of China--one of the first republics on the Asian continent.

Sun Yat-sen was elected provisional president of the Republic of China on 29 December 1911. On 1 January 1912 he assumed the position officially.

The victory of the Chinese revolution met with a broad international response. It drew the attention of and worried world reaction. The progressive social forces, the proletarian revolutionaries and the fighters for national liberation in different countries, however, were sincerely pleased with it. It was enthusiastically welcomed by the Russian bolsheviks. A special resolution "On the Chinese Revolution" was passed at the Sixth (Prague) All-Russian RSDWP Conference of January 1912. This document highly rated the struggle waged by the Chinese people for liberation and expressed its solidarity with its struggle and condemned the imperialist policy hostile to China. "The conference..." the resolution read, the text of which had been drafted by Lenin personally, "notes the worldwide importance of the revolutionary struggle waged by the Chinese people, bringing liberation to Asia and undermining the rule of the European bourgeoisie; it greets the Chinese revolutionaries-republicans and witnesses the profound enthusiasm and total sympathy with which the Russian proletariat is following the successes of the revolutionary people in China and condemns the behavior of Russian liberals who support the tsarist policy of aggression" (op cit., vol 21, p 155).

The resolution adopted at the conference of the Bolshevik Party included the postulates formulated somewhat later in Lenin's assessments of the Chinese revolutionary democrats, and the role of the people's masses and other crucial problems of the Chinese revolution, and emphasized its international significance.

#### Revolutionary Democrat

Although Sun Yat-sen held the position of head of state for only 3 months, a large number of important democratic changes were made under his leadership. Laws were passed on the protection of the person and property of citizens; trade in humans was forbidden; interrogation under torture was abolished and instruments of torture were destroyed; freedom of the press and assembly was guaranteed; the smoking of opium was stopped and so was the binding of the feet of girls; all Chinese people were asked to cut their pigtails, which were a symbol of national degradation imposed by the Manchurians, etc. Sun Yat-sen concerned himself with the democratization of the state apparatus and the struggle against epidemics, the punishing of rice blackmarketeers, the opening of new schools, the development of virgin lands, the strengthening of army discipline, streamlining the financial and tax systems, reforming of the training of actors, creating conditions for the development of the science of history and providing material support to the families of killed revolutionaries.

On 1 April 1912 Sun Yat-sen transferred the presidency to Gen Yuan Shikai, who was influential in right-wing liberal circles and enjoyed the support of the imperialist powers. Yuan Shikai played a certain role in forcing the Ching to abdicate. By compromising with him, Sun Yat-sen's supporters hoped to broaden the base of the revolution, strengthen national unity and gain Western support.

This proved to be a major error made by Sun Yat-sen. Subsequently, in 1921, he was forced to acknowledge that "...I gave up my position in favor of Yuan



Shikai, for my friends, whom I fully trusted and who then were more knowledgeable about Chinese domestic relations than I was, convinced me that Yuan Shikai could unite the country and ensure the stability of the republic, being trusted by the foreign powers. My friends now acknowledge that my resignation was a major political error, the political consequences of which were precisely those which could have happened in Russia had Lenin been replaced in Moscow by Kolchak, Yudenich or Vrangel. Immediately, or soon afterwards, Yuan undertook to restore the monarchy by proclaiming himself the new emperor" (Sun Yat-sen, op cit., pp 298-299).

After resigning the presidency, Sun Yat-sen continued his active political work. He continued to struggle against the reactionary forces and for the democratic renovation of the country. In August 1912, his United Alliance, merged with the liberal bourgeois-landowning parties of southern and central China, forming a new organization--the National Party (the Kuomintang). Sun Yat-sen had many plans for China's economic development and for improving the well-being of the people. He called upon the republican government to pursue a policy opposing the development of capitalist monopolies in the country, the antipeople's nature of which he exposed by citing examples from European countries and the United States. He called for state economic control and the building of "socialism." Sun Yat-sen promoted his ideas in numerous articles and speeches.

Some of his works were well known to members of the progressive Russian intelligentsia, including A.M. Gorkiy, who expressed his attitude toward Sun Yat-sen in a letter to him written on the island of Capri, dated 12 (25) October 1912. It read: "Dear Sun Yat-sen! I, a Russian, am struggling for the triumph of ideas which are the same as yours; wherever such ideas may win, I, like you, would be happy with their victory. I congratulate you for the excellent success of your work which is followed by all honest people in the world with attention, joy and amazement at you, the Hercules of China.

"We, Russians, would like to achieve what you have already achieved. We are brothers in spirit and comrades in intentions...." (M. Gorkiy, "Sobr. Soch." [Collected Works] in 30 volumes. Vol 29, Moscow, 1954, pp 275-276).

The Russian proletariat with its Marxist vanguard--the RSDWP--headed by Lenin, ascribed tremendous importance to the revolutionary movement in China. Lenin followed with close attention the course of the Xinhai revolution. In the articles he wrote during that time, such as "Democracy and Populism in China," "Renovated China," "The Historical Destinies of Karl Marx's Doctrine," "Party Struggle in China," "Major Success of the Chinese Republic," "The Awakening of Asia," "Backward Europe and Progressive Asia" and others, he made a thorough Marxist analysis of the status of Chinese society and the turn of the 20th century, the reasons, nature and motive forces of the 1911-1913 revolution, the historical role played by Sun Yat-sen and the importance of his sociopolitical program.

In his article "China's Second Step," Sun Yat-sen pointed out that the implementation of economic changes should be undertaken after solving the political problems of the revolution. He believed that in a backward country such as China the social revolution is "relatively easy," and that it offers

"the possibility of preventing an onslaught by the capitalist regime." In developing his thought, he wrote: "Unless from the very beginning of the existence of our Chinese republic we do not think of how to protect ourselves from the establishment of capitalism in the immediate future, a new despotism, a hundred times more terrible than that of the Manchurian dynasty, is expecting us and rivers of blood will have to be shed to get rid of it. What a sinister prospect!" (Sun Yat-sen, op cit., p 746).

This article, which was published in LE PEUPLE, the organ of the Belgian Labor Party, drew Lenin's attention. On 15 (28) July 1912 its translation was printed in the bolshevik newspaper NEVSKAYA ZVEZDA, under the heading of "The Social Significance of the Chinese Revolution." The same issue published Lenin's article "Democracy and Populism in China," which described in detail the platform of the "great Chinese democracy" (see op cit., vol 21, p 400).

Lenin undertook the study of Sun Yat-sen's ideological and political views at a time when he was engaged in a debate with the Russian populists. He pointed out that the correlation between democracy and population in the bourgeois revolutions in Asia was one of the most important problems facing all countries on the continent in connection with the development of the revolutionary events in Turkey, Persia and China and, particularly, after 1905 in Russia, which, in Lenin's words, "unquestionably, in very many and quite essential respects is an Asian country" (Ibid, p 401).

Vladimir Ilich highly rated the program of the Chinese revolutionary democrats. "Each line of Sun Yat-sen's platform is imbued with a militant, a sincere democracy," he wrote. "It shows a complete understanding of the inadequacies of a 'racial' revolution. There is not even a drop of indifference to politics or scorn for political freedom, or any thought of the compatibility between Chinese autocracy, Chinese 'social reform' and Chinese constitutional changes, etc. There is purposeful democracy and a demand for a republic. The question is bluntly raised of the status of the masses, the mass struggle and the warm sympathy of the working and exploited people and faith in their justice and strength" (Ibid).

Lenin linked his description of Sun Yat-sen's ideas with the outstanding qualities of the people to which he belonged. Sympathy for the great Chinese people, confidence in its truly tremendous strength and possibilities and, above all, its ability to fight, imbued the following Leninist lines: "We are facing a truly great ideology of a truly great people, who are able not only to bemoan their age-old slavery and not only to dream of freedom and equality but also to struggle against the age-old oppressors of China" (ibid).

In emphasizing the positive features of the personality of the leader of the Chinese revolutionary democracy and his outlook, Lenin considered both the strong and the weak sides of Sun Yat-sen, his errors, blunders and groundless dreams. He pointed out the common features in the views held by Sun Yat-sen and the Russian Narodniks. "The progressive Chinese democrat," Lenin noted, "thinks literally like a Russian. His similarity with the Russian populists is so great as to reach a complete similarity of basic thoughts and many individual manifestations" (Ibid, p 400). Lenin saw this similarity in the fact that "the ideology of combative democracy is combined in this Chinese

populist, first of all, with socialist dreams, with the hope of bypassing and blocking the way to capitalism in China; secondly, with the plan for and implementation of a radical agrarian reform" (ibid, p 403).

In interpreting the views held by Sun Yat-sen and his supporters, the great leader of the world proletariat proved that the bitter hatred felt by the Chinese working people for their oppressors and exploiters and the borrowing by the Chinese of the liberation ideas of the West, where liberation from the bourgeoisie was already on the agenda, had inevitably triggered "sympathy for socialism among the Chinese democrats and their subjective socialism." However, the objective conditions of a backward, agrarian and semi-feudal country demanded, above all, the elimination of feudalism (see Ibid, pp 403, 403-404).

Lenin exposed the contradiction between Sun Yat-sen's subjective socialist ideals and the specific ways of their implementation. He criticized Sun Yat-sen's theses on the possibility of "preventing" the development of capitalism in China at that time and the "ease" with which a social revolution could be made in that country. Lenin convincingly proved that Sun Yat-sen's agrarian reform, reduced to "transferring rental payments to the state, i.e., the nationalization of the land through some kind of uniform tax, in the spirit of Henry George," was in fact "the purest, maximally consistent and ideally perfect capitalism." "The irony of history," Lenin wrote, "is that populism, in the name of 'struggling against capitalism' in agriculture is pursuing the type of agrarian reform the complete implementation of which would mean the fastest possible development of capitalism in agriculture" (Ibid, p 405).

In his article "Democracy and Populism in China," he pointed out that whereas the bourgeoisie in the Western countries had become reactionary and was facing its gravedigger--the proletariat--"there still is a bourgeoisie in Asia which can be representative of a sincere, militant and consistent democracy" (ibid, p 402). He also emphasized the heterogeneity of the Chinese bourgeoisie, pointing out that its liberal wing, represented by Yuan Shikai, could betray the democrats for the sake of deals with some old or new "constitutional" monarchs, and that Yuan Shikai "will wage a policy of maneuvering between the monarchy and the revolution" (Ibid, pp 402-403, 406). Lenin's remarks to the effect that the peasantry is a social support of the Asian bourgeoisie in this historically progressive matter, and that without a democratic upsurge the real liberation of the Chinese people is impossible and that the "renovation" of China "can be accomplished only through the heroism of the revolutionary popular masses" are of enduring significance (Ibid, pp 402, 403, 406).

In his article "The Party Struggle in China," which was published in PRAVDA in 3 (16) May 1913, Lenin qualified Sun Yat-sen's Kuomintang as a "radical-populist republican party, a democratic party," the weakness of which was that it was "as yet insufficiently able to involve the broad masses of the Chinese people in the revolution" (op cit., vol 23, pp 138, 139).

Although the revolutionary democrats were inconsistent in their struggle for the peasantry and were able to accomplish relatively little in involving the peasantry on the side of the revolution, the significance of their initiative

cannot be belittled. The ideas, slogans and program formulated by Sun Yat-sen turned a new chapter in Chinese history.

"Nevertheless," V.I. Lenin wrote, "despite the shortcomings of its leader Sun Yat-sen (dreaming and hesitation, due to the lack of a proletarian background), revolutionary democracy in China has done a great deal to awaken the people and to gain freedom and consistently democratic institutions. By involving ever broader masses of the Chinese peasantry in politics and also to the extent to which such involvement takes place), Sun Yat-sen's party is thus becoming a great factor of progress in Asia and the rest of mankind. The work of this party will never fail, whatever possible defeats it may suffer in the hands of political turncoats, adventurers and dictators relying on the reactionary forces in the country" (Ibid, p 140).

The 1911-1913 revolution in China failed. As Lenin presumed, the liberal bourgeoisie, frightened by the people's masses, switched to the camp of the feudal-merchant counterrevolution, which was supported by the imperialists. In March 1913 Yuan Shikai unleashed open counterrevolutionary terror against the Kuomintang leadership, and once again Sun Yat-sen was forced to leave China and emigrate to Japan. In order to oppose the plans of Yuan Shikai and the other militarists who had usurped the power and who intended to restore a monarchy obedient to the imperialist powers, in June 1914 Sun Yat-sen created in Tokyo a deeply secret organization--the Chinese Revolutionary Party (Zhonghua Gemingdang).

In December 1915 Yuan Shikai proclaimed his decision to become emperor. Military units who had remained loyal to the republic and whose commanding officers were in contact with the Gemingdang, rebelled in the southern and eastern provinces against the new monarchy. The Southern Federation of Independent Provinces was created on 12 May 1916 in Guangzhu, which proclaimed Yunnan, Kweichow, Kiangsi and Kwangtung provinces independent of Yuan Shikai.

In June 1916, following Yuan Shikai's death, Sun Yat-sen returned to China and joined in the struggle waged by the revolutionary south against the northern militarists who controlled the government in Beijing. In 1917 he headed the government in Guangzhu and the southern military forces. However, as a result of the conflict with the Guangzhu militarists, he was forced to leave for Shanghai in 1918.

#### Friend of the Soviet Union

The Great October Socialist Revolution, the most important landmark in world history, became a turning point in the life of Sun Yat-sen. He radically revised his views on the tasks and prospects of the Chinese revolution and on the forms and methods of its implementation. He sought new friends and allies in the revolutionary struggle.

Sun Yat-sen was the first among the Chinese political leaders warmly to welcome the October Revolution in Russia. In 1918 (the precise date has not been determined) he sent a telegram to the Soviet government and Lenin. The original text of the telegram has not been found. According to some Chinese scientists, who refer to a printed source, it expressed admiration of the

struggle waged by the Leninist party and the hope that "the revolutionary parties of China and Russia will unite in waging a joint struggle" (see Pyn Ming. "Istoriya Kitaysko-Sovetskoy Druzhby" [History of Sino-Soviet Friendship]. Moscow, 1959, p 68).

At that time the young Soviet republic was engaged in repelling the furious pressure of the White Guard counterrevolution, in the tight ring of imperialist blockade. Sun Yat-sen's telegram followed the long and difficult route from Shanghai via America and Europe before reaching Moscow. On Sovnarkom instructions, it was answered by G.V. Chicherin, RSFSR people's commissar of foreign affairs. In his letter to Sun Yat-sen, dated 1 August 1918, he thanked the "respected teacher," for his greetings and wrote that "the Russian toiling classes turn to their Chinese brothers and call upon them to join in the struggle" ("Dokumenty Vneshney Politiki SSSR" [USSR Foreign Policy Documents]. Vol 1, Moscow, 1957, pp 415-416).

On 31 October 1920 G.V. Chicherin sent another letter to Sun Yat-sen, which was received only on 14 June 1921. By then Sun Yat-sen had become president of the national government in Guangzhou. He was elected to this high position on 7 April 1921 at a parliamentary session in that city. The powerful anti-imperialist "4 May Movement" of 1919, which was the Chinese response to the Great October Revolution, had a noticeable influence on Sun Yat-sen. It was then that, for the first time, the Chinese proletariat acted as a mass political force. Also in 1919 were the first friendly meetings held between Sun Yat-sen and Li Dachao, an active organizer of the "4 May Movement," passionate propagandist of Marxism-Leninism in China, one of the future founders of the Communist Party of China and professor at Beijing University. In 1920 and 1921 Sun Yat-sen met with representatives of the Comintern who had come to China and, in his talks with them asked about changes in Soviet Russia carried out under the leadership of the communists and about the development of the global communist movement. He expressed his approval of the creation of the Communist Party of China in July 1921.

It was under these circumstances that Sun Yat-sen continued his correspondence with the Soviet leadership. In answer to G.V. Chicherin's second letter, in a letter dated 28 August 1921 he wrote: "...I would like to establish personal contact with you and other friends in Moscow. I am greatly interested in your cause and in the specifics of the organization of your soviets, your armed forces and your education. I would like to know all that you and others could tell me about such matters, education in particular. Like Moscow, I would like to lay the foundations of the Republic of China deeply in the minds of the young generation--the working people of tomorrow" (Sun Yat-sen, op cit., p 300). Sun Yat-sen ended his letter with best wishes to "my friend Lenin."

In a note dated 26 January 1922, Vladimir Ilich turned to G.V. Chicherin:

"Comrade Chicherin:

"Do you recall sending me Sun Yat-sen's letter?

"In that letter he said something about friendship with me and you asked me whether I knew him?

"Was this letter addressed to you or to me?"

"Have you kept it in your files? Have you also kept my answer to your question?"

"If yes, could you send it to me (to Fotiyeva's address)?"

"If not, what do you recall of this matter?" (op cit., vol 54, pp 141-142).

Lenin's question on the subject of Sun Yat-sen's letter has led researchers to assume that the head of the Communist Party and Soviet state intended to address a personal message to the leader of China's progressive forces and that such a message had been sent (see A.I. Kartunov. "Sun Yat-sen--Friend of the Soviet People." VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, No 10, 1966, pp 32-33). This last assumption is supported, among others, by Lenin's letter to Sun Yat-sen mentioned in one of the articles of the latter's widow Song Qingli: "Sun Yat-sen left to us more than a dream. He left, as the great Lenin said in his letter to Sun Yat-sen, a continuing revolutionary zeal" (NARODNYI KITAY, No 22, 1956, p 9).

In any case, Lenin paid exceptional attention to Sun Yat-sen, toward whom he was particularly well disposed. In assuring Sun Yat-sen of the fact that the Soviet government "will never deviate from the path of the most loyal, warm and sincere friendship and cooperation with the Chinese people," in a response dated 7 February 1922, G.V. Chicherin said: "Comrade Lenin also read your letter with the greatest interest and is following your activities with warm sympathy" ("Dokumenty Vneshney Politiki SSSR" [Documents of USSR Foreign Policy], vol 5, Moscow, 1961, p 84).

The coup d'etat, which was made in June 1922 by the militarist Chen Junming, with British and U.S. support, forced Sun Yat-sen to leave Guangzhou for a time. In February 1923, however, after Chen Junming was exiled, he returned and once again assumed the head of the South China government. Sun Yat-sen reached the conclusion that no help from the West should be expected, for the West was hostile to the Chinese revolution, and that the only country which could support the Chinese revolutionaries was Soviet Russia. The experience of the bolsheviks indicated to him that political work among the masses and the armed forces and the creation of a strong, organized and influential party, which could perform the role of revolutionary vanguard, could ensure the success of the revolution.

In October 1919 Sun Yat-sen recreated Kuomintang Party and in 1923 undertook its radical reorganization. He called upon his fellow-workers to study the Russian language in order to master the experience of the Bolshevik Party. In 1923 he sent to Moscow a group of Kuomintang party and military leaders to study the Soviet experience and requested of the Soviet government to help the Chinese revolutionary movement by sending to it political and military advisors for this purpose. Responding to Sun Yat-sen's request, M.M. Borodin, a bolshevik since 1903, who carried out Lenin's most important assignments, was assigned to Sun Yat-sen. Sun Yat-sen welcomed him warmly, "asked about Lenin at length, not only as a revolutionary but also as a physician, and was interested in Ilich's health. He described Lenin as the greatest friend of



China and repeatedly expressed warm gratitude to our party and the land of the soviets, which had so quickly and sincerely responded to the appeal for help...." ("Sun Yat-sen. 1866-1966. K Stoletiyu so Dnya Rozhdeniya" [Sun Yat-sen. 1866-1966. On the Occasion of the Centennial of His Birth]. Collection of articles, memoirs and materials. Moscow, 1966, p 286). M.M. Borodin, who was appointed chief political advisor to the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee in September 1923, remained at Sun Yat-sen's side for the rest of Sun Yat-sen's life.

Starting with 1923, Soviet military advisors and specialists began arriving in southern China. They included noted Red Army military commanders V.K. Blyukher, P.A. Pavlov, A.I. Cherepanov and others. They were very helpful in the creation of a national revolutionary army, the formulation of strategic plans, the mastery of military ordnance, the training of officer cadres, etc.

The Communist Party of China supported Sun Yat-sen's struggle for democracy and his efforts to organize a revolutionary army and make the Kuomintang a mass revolutionary political party. It called for a united front with the Kuomintang. The third CPC Congress, the first to meet legally in June 1923, in Guangzhu, approved the joining of the Kuomintang by the communists although the Communist Party retained its political and organizational autonomy.

The First Kuomintang Congress convened on 20 January 1924 with the participation of the communists. The congress consolidated the line of cooperation with the CPC and set up a united front of all progressive forces. At the congress Sun Yat-sen provided a new interpretation to the "three popular principles." Now "nationalism" meant struggle against imperialism and equality for all nationalities in China. "Democracy" meant the creation of a democratic republic. "People's well-being" meant the implementation of the principle of "to each plowman his field," and improving the life of the workers and restricting capitalism. The new "three popular principles" were expanded by the three basic political stipulations which called for alliance with the USSR, alliance with the Communist Party and support of the demands of workers and peasants.

After the sad news of Lenin's death was received in China, as a sign of mourning the congress interrupted its proceedings for 3 days. Sun Yat-sen's statement in connection with Lenin's death was read at a mass mourning meeting. It said: "In the course of many centuries of world history there have been thousands of leaders and scientists with beautiful words in their mouths, which were never implemented. You, Lenin, are the exception. You not only spoke and taught but converted your words into reality. You created a new country. You indicated to us the path of joint struggle. You met on your way thousands of obstacles which I meet on my way. I want to follow your way and although my enemies oppose this, my people will cheer me for this. You are dead and heaven did not extend your life. However, in the memory of the oppressed nations you will live through the centuries, great man" (Sun Yat-sen, op cit., p 751).

Sun Yat-sen highly rated the Leninist foreign policy of the Soviet state which had rejected uneven treaties and the rights and privileges which tsarist Russia had extracted in its time from China. He emphasized the selfless,



equal and friendly nature of relations between the USSR and China and the great importance of Soviet support of oppressed peoples and its fraternal aid to revolutionary China.

In his correspondence with Soviet diplomats G.V. Chicherin, A.A. Ioffe and L.M. Karakhan, Sun Yat-sen supported the idea of the need for friendship and unity between China and Russia and between the Chinese and Russian peoples. The leader of China's revolutionary democracy was by no means a Marxist. He did not share bolshevik views. However, he and his loyal followers were united with the Soviet state in the struggle for national independence and social progress, against imperialism and for universal peace.

The idea of the need to coordinate the actions between China and the USSR in the international arena is expressed in Sun Yat-sen's letter to G.V. Chicherin, dated 16 February 1924, in answer to a letter by the Soviet people's commissar, dated 4 December 1923: "I welcome your suggestion of continuing our contacts. We must do this not only with a view to exchanging ideas but also for a possible coordination of our reciprocal efforts in the world struggle" (Ibid, p 751).

In promoting national unity, an end to internecine wars and the unification of all forces within China in the struggle against militarism and imperialism, by the end of 1924 Sun Yat-sen travelled to the north of the country. On 31 December he was enthusiastically welcomed by the population of Beijing. However, intrigues, procrastinations, stubbornness, the open opposition of the North China reactionaries and the severe ailment which afflicted Sun Yat-sen prevented him from attaining his goal.

Although he was getting weaker, to the end of his life Sun Yat-sen retained a clear mind. On 11 March 1925 he dictated and signed his last two documents which have become forever part of history: his testament to his fellow-workers and a letter to the USSR Central Executive Committee. "I dedicated 40 years of my life," the testament said, "to the national revolution, aimed at bringing China freedom and equality. With 40 years of experience I deeply realized that in order to attain this objective the masses must be awakened and a struggle must be waged together with the peoples of the world who are building relations with us on the basis of equality" (Ibid, p 741).

Sun Yat-sen's last words called for further strengthening cooperation with the USSR and were imbued with faith in the bright future of the friendly peoples of China and the Soviet Union. "Dear comrades!" he said, addressing himself to the members of the USSR Central Executive Committee. "As I part with you I wish to express my warm wish that the dawn will come soon. The time will come when the Soviet Union will welcome as its best friend and ally, the powerful and free China, when the two countries will march forward hand-in-hand and be victorious in the great battle for the freedom of the oppressed nations of the world" (Ibid, p 742).

Sun Yat-sen died unable to implement his plans or to see the results of the long and dedicated struggle waged by the Chinese revolutionaries. It was the Communist Party of China which brought to its victorious and the cause of the liberation of the Chinese people. Sun Yat-sen's homeland took the path of

socialism. The Soviet communists and the entire Soviet people show understanding and respect for the efforts of the CPC and the working people of the PRC aimed at turning China into a blossoming socialist state. They wish their Chinese comrades success in the implementation of their tasks.

The 27th CPSU Congress called for developing cooperation between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, for this is consistent with the basic interests of the peoples of the two countries, whose main objectives are socialism and peace. "History has assigned an exceptionally responsible mission to the Soviet and Chinese peoples," M.S. Gorbachev said in his 28 July 1986 speech in Vladivostok. "A great deal in international developments depends on these two largest socialist states."

The behests of Sun Yat-sen are well remembered both in China and the Soviet Union. Their implementation would serve the cause of human progress and the safeguarding of universal peace.

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## BOOK REVIEWS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

### POLITIZDAT: LITERATURE FOR THE STUDY OF PARTY CONGRESS MATERIALS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 86 (signed to press 10 Oct 86) pp 119-121

[Interview with A.P. Polyakov, director of the CPSU Central Committee Politizdat]

[Text] On the occasion of the beginning of the school year in the political and economic training system of the working people, the KOMMUNIST Department of Book Reviews and Bibliography asked A.P. Polyakov, director of the CPSU Central Committee Publishing House for Political Literature, a number of questions of interest to the journal's readers.

[Question] The main feature of this school year is the concentration of all forms of political and economic education on the intensified study of the party program, the CPSU Central Committee political report and other documents of the 27th Congress, which are a priceless source in shaping an overall Marxist-Leninist outlook and mastering by the masses of the revolutionary strategy in accelerating the country's socioeconomic development, formulated by the party. What has Politizdat done and is doing to meet the needs for publications needed by millions of propagandists and students in courses and seminars within the party's training system?

[Answer] The task of the publishing house was quite difficult. We had literally no more than a few months to prepare for publication and publish a large number of pamphlets and books containing the materials of the congress. Despite difficulties with our printing facilities which, incidentally, are today the biggest bottleneck in publishing, we were able essentially to deal with this problem.

By now materials from the 27th Party Congress have been published by Politizdat in huge editions totaling almost 48 million copies. Immediately after the congress individual pamphlets came out with the CPSU Central Committee political report, the CPSU program, approved by the congress (new edition) and the party statutes, as well as other documents of the party forum. Virtually at the same time we published the collection "Materials on the 27th CPSU Congress," which included its basic documents. Finally, last September we completed the publication of the minutes of the congress in three volumes. The scale of the work done by the printers (let me single out above

all the shock labor of the collective of the Krasnyy Proletariy Press) is confirmed by the following figures: the report by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, came out in 15 million copies; the "Materials of the 27th CPSU Congress" are published in a 10-million copy edition.

I believe, therefore, that by now an adequate quantity of the congress' documents have been made available not only to students attending courses and seminars for political and economic studies but to anyone who would like to read once again the innovative documents of the party forum and keep them in his personal library.

[Question] The works of the founders of scientific communism, which are studied by students in close connection with the materials of the congress, are the methodological foundation for political and economic training. We know that Politizdat is continuing to publish new editions of multiple-volume selected works of K. Marx and F. Engels and V.I. Lenin, and some of their works separately; what is the situation with the publication of topic collections of the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin on problems which are particularly relevant for our age and which help propagandists and students better to understand the continuity and innovative nature of the ideas of the 27th CPSU Congress?

[Answer] Indeed, topic collections dealing with individual aspects of the doctrine of the founders of Marxism-Leninism have always been welcomed with great interest by the readership. They are particularly useful to those who try to systematize their knowledge on one theoretical aspect or another seriously and more profoundly. Such collections, which include the full text or excerpts of the main works of Marx, Engels and Lenin are based on the problem principle in the presentation of the material; they come with subject and other indicators which make it easier for the reader to locate the necessary information.

The publishing house always takes into consideration this need of propagandists and students within the political training system. This year collections of the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin have been published (or are about to be published) on problems of socialism and communism, social justice and the nature of bourgeois and socialist democracy.

The collection "V.I. Lenin o Sotsialisticheskoy Stroitel'stve" [V.I. Lenin on the Building of Socialism] will be of unquestionable interest to the readers. It includes the full text or excerpts of Lenin's post-October works, which provide examples of profound theoretical conclusions on daring and innovative analyses of the actual real practice of the first experiments in building socialism. "Naturally, we live in different times. We formulate and implement our plans under different historical circumstances," M.S. Gorbachev said at his meeting with the party aktiv of Krasnodar Kray. "However, we can and must make use of Lenin's lessons in the reorganization."

[Question] The basic training course in the political education system, as we know, will be "Accelerating the Country's Socioeconomic Development is the CPSU Strategic Line;" in the economic training system, the main course will be

"Production Intensification." What books will the publishing house offer this year on these topics?

[Answer] Above all, let me point out three works produced by Politizdat. The first is "Uskoreniye Sotsialno-Ekonomicheskogo Razvitiya Strany--Zadacha Vsey Partii, Vsego Naroda" [Accelerating the Country's Socioeconomic Development is the Task of the Entire Party and the Entire People]. This will be a collection of documents and materials in which the readers will find the most important party decisions and M.S. Gorbachev's speeches, which substantiate the party's strategic line and the forthcoming reorganization. We are working on the publication in the immediate future of a new textbook entitled "Strategiya Uskoreniya" [Strategy of Acceleration]. Unquestionably, a relatively small volume of rich content, however, entitled "XXVII Syezd KTSS: Tvorcheskii Vklad v Marksistsko-Leninskuyu Teoriyu" [The 27th CPSU Congress: Creative Contribution to Marxist-Leninist Theory] for propagandists and anyone studying the congress' materials, will be very helpful in the study of party documents. This book, which is based on editorials in KOMMUNIST, is essentially an interpretation of the concept and strategy of acceleration.

Popular science pamphlets and books useful, in the intensified study of the long-term socioeconomic development of our country during the 12th 5-year period, have already been published or will be published before the end of the year. They include "Kursom Uskoreniya" [Course of Acceleration] by L.I. Abalkin, "Nasha Ekonomika: Vremya Peremen" [Our Economy: Time of Change] by A.A. Guber, "Pyatiletka Kachestvennykh Sdvigov" [A Five-Year Period of Quality Change] by V.N. Kirichenko, "Slagayemye Intensifikatsii" [Components of Intensification] by D.A. Chernikov, "Sovremennoye Ekonomicheskoye Myshleniye" [Contemporary Economic Thinking] by K.A. Ulybin, "Trud: Resursy i Effektivnost Ispolzovaniya" [Labor: Resources and Efficient Use] by V.G. Kostakov, "Pyatiletka-Cheloveku" [The Five-Year Plan for the Person] by V.M. Rutgayzer, "Chelovecheskiy Faktor Nauchno-Tekhnicheskogo Progressa" [The Human Factor in Scientific and Technical Progress] by a group of authors, and some others. We shall also soon publish a referential dictionary entitled "Dvenadtsataya Pyatiletka" [The Twelfth Five-Year Plan], saturated with a variety of information.

[Question] The practice of the organization of political and economic training and self-education has indicated that training aids in the individual scientific subjects are quite helpful in the study of party documents and the ideological wealth of Marxism-Leninism. What will Politizdat offer the readers in the new school year?

[Answer] Unfortunately, not as much as we would like. It is true that some new textbooks have been published. They include a number of works awarded prizes at the competition for party training textbooks. They include "Nauchnyy Kommunizm" [Scientific Communism] by V.F. Khalipov, "Problemy Nauchnogo Kommunizma" [Problems of Scientific Communism] by E.V. Tadevosyan, and "Marksistsko-Leninskaya Filosofiya" [Marxist-Leninist Philosophy] by A.I. Rakitov. The book "Politicheskaya Ekonomiya" [Political Economy] by A.G. Kulikov is in printing. Let me also mention the book "Razvitiye Natsionalnykh Otnosheniy v SSSR" [Development of National Relations in the USSR] and the training-method aids for propagandists "Nauchnyy Kommunizm" [Scientific

Communism], "Puti Povysheniya Rezultativnosti Partiynoy Ucheby" [Ways of Improving Party Training Efficiency] and "Organizatsiya i Metodika Ateisticheskogo Vospitaniya" [Organization and Method of Atheistic Education] written by groups of specialists. All of them make extensive use of the materials of the 27th CPSU Congress and interpret its ideas and concepts.

Propagandists can acquire a great deal of valuable information from the books "Leninskaya Partiya: Preyemstvennost i Novatorstvo" [The Leninist Party: Continuity and Innovation] by S.V. Kolesnikov, "Znamya Boryushcheyasya Partii" [The Banner of the Fighting Party] by N.N. Maslov, N.V. Romanovski and A.A. Chernobayev (the story of all CPSU programs), and "Kratkiy Oчерk Istorii Ustava KPSS" [Brief Outline of the History of CPSU Statutes] by O.G. Obichkin.

[Question] What textbooks useful to propagandists and students in the party training system will be published in 1987?

[Answer] Quite naturally, the publishing house is only beginning to develop its work on the dissemination of the resolutions of the 27th Congress. Next year the topics will be significantly expanded. The readers will be presented with several relevant topic collections, such as "K. Marks, F. Engels, V.I. Lenin, KPSS o Nauchno-Tekhnicheskoy Progresse" [K. Marx, F. Engels, V.I. Lenin, and the CPSU on Scientific and Technical Progress], "V.I. Lenin o Rabote Apparata Upravleniya i Borbe s Byurokratizmom" [V.I. Lenin on the Work of the Managerial Apparatus and the Struggle Against Bureaucratism] and "Nravstvennyy Ideal Kommunistov" [The Communists' Moral Ideal]. This last work includes statements by the classics of Marxism-Leninism and outstanding leaders of the Communist Party and Soviet state and excerpts from party documents on problems of communist morality.

A series of books is under preparation, in which the congress' ideas and conclusions will be interpreted on the level of research with the utilization of extensive theoretical and factual data. They include interesting monographs, such as "Intensifikatsiya i Effektivnost Sotsialisticheskogo Vospriizvodstva" [Intensification and Efficiency of Socialist Reproduction], "Sotsializm i Progress Chelovechestva: Globalnyye Problemy Tsivilizatsii" [Socialism and Mankind's Progress: Global Problems of Civilization], "Sovremennaya Strategiya Sotsialisticheskoy Ekonomicheskoy Integratsii" [Contemporary Strategy of Socialist Economic Integration] and "Gonka Vooruzheniy i Mezhdunarodnyye Otnosheniya" [Arms Race and International Relations], written with the participation of large groups of scientists. Also noteworthy will be the basic reference dictionary "Nauchno-Tekhnicheskii Progress" [Scientific and Technical Progress].

Politizdat will also intensify the pace of publication of textbooks and popular science books and pamphlets on an increased variety of topics.

What matters, however, is not a list of titles or their numbers, but the fact that books and textbooks are written in an interesting, specific, simple and clear style, so that propagandists and students involved in the political and economic training system may read them not only for their usefulness but also for the pleasure of it. The party training system needs publications in which, as meaningfully said by M.S. Gorbachev, "the entire attractiveness of

the emotional intellectualism of Marxism-Leninism" may be brought to light. We believe that it is only in such a case that training will yield proper results. Our prime task is to produce books which would awaken creative thinking and contribute to the reorganization. The congress has directed all personnel of the mass information media and publishing houses to see to it that the pulse beat of life itself, with its achievements and contradictions is felt in newspapers, journals and books, and so that our party word addressed to the toiling masses become better argued, analytical and civic-minded, with the sharp formulation of problems and constructive solutions. Unfortunately, I must point out that the elements of red tape, formalism and dullness have by no means been eliminated yet even in our best books.

Let me also point out another quite important feature. Politizdat is preparing textbooks in close cooperation with the All-Union House of Political Education of the CPSU Central Committee. Frequently in discussing plans or published textbooks, we hold meetings with propagandists. Every time we hear addressed to us sharp but just accusations that we are being slow with the production of training publications which we fail to deliver by 1 October. The result is that a considerable percentage of textbooks, which come out several months after the beginning of the school year, become largely ineffective. This is inadmissible in general and particularly now. The solution of the problem does not seem to me to be exceptionally difficult. What is needed is for anyone dealing with such important matters, including publishers and printers, to begin preparations for the publication of the books on time and to act efficiently and purposefully. That way we should be able to publish all the necessary works 2 to 3 months before the school year.

In conclusion, allow me to turn to the readers of KOMMUNIST: Politizdat will be pleased to receive your suggestions, critical remarks and recommendations, not only on the subject of books already published but also on the plans for future publications. We shall consider them most carefully.

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## DOCUMENTARY CHRONICLE OF A HEROIC AGE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 86 (signed to press 10 Oct 86) pp 121-126

[Review by M. Iroshnikov, doctor of historical sciences, professor, of the book "Dekrety Sovetskoy Vlasti" [Decrees of the Soviet System]. Volumes I-XII. Moscow, 1957-1986]

[Text] As John Reed metaphorically said, sparks were flying in all directions out of Smolnyy and, later, Moscow's Kremlin, where the first government of Soviet Russia--the Council of People's Commissars--was working under V.I. Lenin's leadership, like the sparks of a dynamo. These sparks were Lenin's decrees of the Soviet system, printed in hundreds of thousands of copies and pasted on walls and advertising stands, spreading throughout the country with amazing speed. As V.I. Lenin said at the 11th RKP(b) Congress, "We presented to the simple worker and peasant our policy concepts directly as decrees. The result was the a tremendous trust of the popular masses which we gained and have" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 45, p 111).

These historical documents not only embody the initial steps of the Soviet system after the momentous events of October 1917. It is above all the immortal Leninist ideas they contain that to this day actively help the Communist Party and Soviet government in solving the problem of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development and the all-round advancement of real socialism. Particularly important in this connection is the publication of this fundamental work compiled by the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism jointly with the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of USSR History.

Twelve volumes of this documentary series have come out, containing Soviet legislative acts, from the victory of the October Revolution to January 1921. Many of them were repeatedly published in the press during the first post-October years, in collections of laws and orders of the worker and peasant government, and in various departmental and scientific publications. However, as a rule, they included only the definitive, the officially approved texts. Yet other materials related to the legislative activities of the Soviet system are of significant interest. This includes, in particular, Lenin's draft decrees, notes, additions and remarks made by the SNK chairman on drafts and originals, reflecting his work with one document or another.

The exceptional value of this collection is found, precisely, in the fact that in accordance with the intention of its initiator and initial compiler--S.N. Valk, the greatest Soviet student of sources and archeographer, who developed a method for the reproduction of the text of the documents of V.I. Lenin and Soviet official acts as early as the second half of the 1920s and beginning of the 1930s, this publication includes all published and previously unpublished legislative-executive acts issued by the supreme authorities of the Soviet system--the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and its Presidium, the Council of People's Commissars, the Worker and Peasant Defense Council, the Labor and Defense Council, and the SNK commissions--the Small Sovnarkom. It is this that has determined the structure of each volume, which consists of two parts: the first includes the decrees published in the first years of the Soviet system in newspapers and journals, departmental publications and central Soviet institutions; the second contains acts which were not published at that time or were not published in general. Appendixes include Sovnarkom decrees signed by Lenin on the appointment of people's commissars and members of collegiums of people's commissars and their assignments, based similarity of topic.. The other main task of the series has been implemented with equal success: to prove that the appearance and development of Soviet legislation during the first post-October years and the birth of the proletarian state in Russia are inseparably related to Lenin.

The firm historical base of all volumes already published is their unquestionable merit. The compilers relied on a vast range of archival and printed sources, above all the works of V.I. Lenin, his correspondence and other materials, party documents, and various legislative and official acts of the Soviet system. Extensive use has been made of periodicals and departmental publications of the respective years and of memoirs. A tremendous amount of research was conducted to study the stocks of central and local archives, museums and libraries and private collections, particularly at the CPSU Central Committee TsPA IML and the TsGAOR, where the main sets of a great variety of documents which were generated in the course of the activities of the all-Russian congresses of Soviets, the VTsIK, the Sovnarkom, the people's commissariats and other central departments are stored.

This exceptionally labor-intensive and purposeful work, combined with the user of an original method for the identification and study of legislative documents, made it possible not only to use virtually all sources of independent significance (the initial publications of decrees in the periodical press and the collections of laws, archive original sources and drafts) but also to provide the reader with a scientifically and critically established accurate text of the decrees, to note disparities and changes in the text of one publication or another and to trace the sequence of Lenin's work with them.

The 12 volumes contain more than 3,500 decrees of the Soviet system with scientific comments and extensive references. More than 1,000 decrees are published for the first time; wherever possible, the history of the drafting of each one of them has been traced and V.I. Lenin's work on such historical documents noted.

In its first constituent act--the appeal to "Workers, Soldiers and Peasants!"--the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets, which proclaimed the transfer of state power centrally and locally to the soviets of worker, soldier and peasant deputies, legislatively codified the socialist platform of the activities of the new, the proletarian system, formulated by the Bolshevik Party. "The Soviet system offered immediate democratic peace to all nations and an immediate armistice on all fronts," the appeal read. "It will put, free of charge, estate, crown and monastery land at the disposal of the peasant committees. It will support the rights of the soldier and ensure the total democratization of the armed forces; it will establish worker control over industry and ensure...to all nations inhabiting Russia the true right to self-determination" (vol I, p 8). The decrees of the Soviet system were the actual embodiment of this bolshevik program.

The Soviet decrees, which expressed the policy of the Leninist party of the working class, were aimed at the destruction of the bourgeois-landowning system and the shaping and development of new social relations. In the hands of the Soviet authorities they became a major tool for the elimination of all forms of social and national oppression, the breakup of the old governmental machinery of exploitation and coercion, the struggle against the counterrevolution, the creation of a new governing system for the country and the implementation of socialist changes. It was precisely the decrees of the Soviet system which legislatively codified, after the victory of the October Revolution, the main programmatic stipulations of the Bolshevik Party on the new social and governmental structure of Soviet Russia, the basic democratic rights and obligations of the working people in the country, and the fundamental principles of the domestic and foreign policy of the first socialist state in the world.

As legislative acts which regulated laying the foundations of socialism, the decrees issued by the Soviet system were also political declarations and a most important form of dissemination of the ideas of the proletarian revolution. They were a powerful means for involving on its side the broad toiling masses. "The road to socialism was opened by the worker and peasant revolution," PRAVDA wrote in its 31 October 1917 issue. "The further steps along this way will include the revolutionary decrees of the Council of People's Commissars, around which all workers and soldiers, all oppressed people in the cities and all rural poor should rally." This most characteristic feature of the first Soviet decrees was subsequently especially noted by V.I. Lenin at the Eighth RKP(b) Congress: "We recall issuing some 10 to 12 decrees at a time in Smolnyy. This was a manifestation of our resolve and desire to awaken the experience and the activities of the proletarian masses" (op cit., vol 38, p 141).

The documents included in the publication comprehensively showed the outstanding role which V.I. Lenin played in drafting Soviet laws, as the main author of the decrees on the main problems of the country's socioeconomic life, submitted to the All-Russian Conferences, the VTsIK and the Sovnarkom, as the initiator of the drafting and adoption of many of them and as the chairman of the SNK, who directly guided the discussing of all problems considered by the government and as a person who did a tremendous amount of work to draft and correct the decrees handled by the Sovnarkom. To realize

the tremendous volume of legislative activities carried out by the founder of the Soviet state and the truly revolutionary scope of this work, suffice it to say that between November 1917 and the beginning of March 1918 alone (i.e., during the "Smolnyy" period of the work of the first Soviet government) there were 47 draft laws written by Lenin and 36 draft decrees edited by him. It was precisely V.I. Lenin who personally drafted a number of basic laws of the Soviet system, starting with the historical document adopted at the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets--an address on the victory of the October Revolution and its immediate tasks, and the decrees on peace, land and formation of the Soviet government.

Lenin's Decree on Peace proclaimed the principled refusal by Soviet Russia to participate in the imperialist war. It also formulated the foundations of the foreign policy and diplomacy of the state of a new, a socialist type: decisive condemnation of war as means of solving disputes, the possibility of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems, true love of peace and aspiration to maintain friendly relations with all countries, total equality among all--big and small--peoples and respect of sovereignty and noninterference in the domestic affairs of other countries. The first lines of the decree contained a clear suggestion to all warring nations and their governments to initiate immediately talks on a universal just and democratic peace. The numerous documents included in this work irrefutably proved that all foreign political actions taken by the Soviet state during that period were, without exception, most closely related to Lenin's Decree on Peace, and the systematic struggle for its implementation and for organizing and developing good-neighborly and equal political and economic relations between Soviet Russia and other countries.

The formation of the Soviet government, transfer of the full power to the local soviets, and creation of revolutionary authorities of the new system in the armed forces, all meant the legislative implementation of the bolshevik slogan of "All Power to the Soviets!" A considerable part of the decrees in this publication describe the tempestuous process of the triumphal march and consolidation of the Soviet system throughout the huge territory of Russia, the subsequent development of Soviet building and the perfecting of the new management authorities. The legislation of the young Soviet republic decreed the destruction of the bourgeois governmental machinery and the establishment of a proletarian state apparatus: the creation of central and local soviet institutions, a new people's court and a worker-peasant Red Army. Decrees on closing down the old ministries, courts and the old army and decrees on the struggle against sabotage by the bourgeoisie and reactionary officials, the right to recall delegates, and the dissolution of the counterrevolutionary parties, organizations and establishments radically undermined the structure of the political domination of the bourgeoisie and strengthened the soviets as a political form of proletarian dictatorship.

At that time, Lenin, who ascribed great importance to the revolutionary creativity of the masses, repeatedly issued appeals to the working people in Russia explaining the basic steps taken by the Soviet system and indicating ways of their practical implementation.

The Declaration of the Rights of the Toiling and Exploited People, drafted by V.I. Lenin, followed by the first constitution of the RSFSR, which was adopted at the Fifth All-Russian Congress of Soviets, on 10 July 1918, codified the great accomplishments of the October Revolution: a new Soviet state system, abolishment of private capitalism and landownership and the equality of all nations in Russia.

The publication provides a complete and comprehensive coverage of the events during the period of the civil war and intervention, when the Soviet republic was forced to wage a fierce struggle against the pressure of the combined forces of the White Guards and international imperialism. As a result of the decisive and extreme measures taken by the RKP(b) Central Committee and the Soviet government, the virtually entire economic and sociopolitical life of the country was restructured in accordance with wartime conditions between 1918 and 1920. By decree of the VTsIK, dated 2 September 1918, the Soviet republic was proclaimed a military camp. The main aspect of this reorganization, which was expressed through a number of most important decrees, consisted of exceptional measures drafted and implemented under Lenin's guidance, such as the nationalization of all industry (including medium-sized and a significant percentage of petty industry) and the organization of the strictest possible centralization in the management of all industrial sectors, introduction of state monopoly on grain and food tax, replacing free trade with organized state distribution of industrial commodities in food according to class origin, introduction of universal military draft, etc. This entire system, which was caused by the war and the economic dislocation, was subsequently described as the policy of "war communism," which, as Lenin pointed out, was temporary and forced and aimed at ensuring the defeat of the White Guards and the interventionists. "Not only in the army and navy," stated the VTsIK and SNK decree, dated 30 November 1918, on establishing the Council of Worker and Peasant Defense, headed by V.I. Lenin, "but also in food, transportation and war industry, a military regime must be instituted, i.e., a regime of harsh labor discipline, consistent with the situation of the country which the imperialist bandits have forced to convert to a military camp" (vol IV, p 93).

The creation of a mass regular worker-peasant red army played a tremendous role in protecting the gains of the Great October Revolution. Many of the decrees included in the work deal with problems of the country's defense, upgrading the army's combat capability, supplying with everything necessary, mobilization, recruiting the old military specialists, material support for the Red Army men and their families, etc. In the accountability reports to the 8th Party Congress, on 18 March 1919, Lenin said: "On the question of the Red Army....we took a large number...of decisions formulated by our party's Central Committee and implemented through the Council of People's Commissars and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee" (op cit., vol 38, p 137). Each one of these decrees was aimed at strengthening the military and political alliance between the working class and the toiling peasantry, unifying the peoples within the Soviet republic and ensuring the defeat of the combined forces of the internal and external counterrevolution.

As we know, following the adoption of the famous Decree on Land, which called for radical agrarian changes in the country, during the post-October months

and the worrisome years of the civil war which followed, the Soviet state took over the virtually entire industry, finances, transportation and trade. Decrees on worker control over production and distribution of products, the establishment of the Higher Council of the National Economy, the nationalization of banks, foreign trade, industrial enterprises, railroads and seagoing and river ships were the implementation of Lenin's brilliant ideas on the ways to reorganize the country's economy on a socialist basis and a conversion to the socialist principles of organization of the national economy.

However complex and difficult the situation may have been during the civil war, the Leninist course charted by the party and the decrees of the Soviet system were aimed above all at securing victory in the struggle against a counterrevolution and foreign intervention and the further building of the new society. As shown by the decrees passed between 11 July 1918 and 6 April 1920, which are included in the publication, approximately one-half of them dealt with problems related to managing the national economy. That is perfectly natural, for the fact that problems of economic nature predominated even during the exceptional conditions of 1918-1920 in the activities of the Soviet system was entirely consistent with the essence, with the constructive nature of the proletarian state. It was no accident that in presenting the accountability report of the VTsIK and SNK at the Eighth All-Russian Congress of Soviets, on 22 December 1920, Lenin pointed out that probably more than one-half of the work of the Sovnarkom and nine-tenths of the entire work of the Labor and Defense Council was related to economic problems (see op cit., vol 42, p 141). The publication includes numerous legislative and executive acts of the Soviet system aimed at rebuilding the national economy and its industry and its fuel-power and metallurgical base, providing comprehensive aid to agriculture, the technical retooling of leading industrial sectors and agricultural production and the country's electrification.

The RKP(b) Central Committee, the Sovnarkom and V.I. Lenin paid particular attention to the socialist reorganization of Russia's economy on the basis of its electrification and the all-round development of domestic science and technology and the study and development of the country's natural resources. On 23 March 1920 the Sovnarkom approved a regulation, drafted on Lenin's initiative and under his guidance, on the State Electrification Commission (GOELRO). The GOELRO plan, which was approved at the Eighth All-Russian Congress of Soviets in December 1920 and definitively ratified in December 1921 at the Ninth All-Russian Congress of Soviets, was the first plan for the development of the national economy on the basis of electrification and in accordance with the latest scientific and technical achievements. In answering the questions asked by a correspondent of the British newspaper DAILY EXPRESS, in February 1920 Vladimir Ilich wrote: "Electrification will mark the rebirth of Russia. Electrification, based on the Soviet system, will provide the definitive victory of the foundations of communism in our country...." (op cit., vol 40, p 148).

A significant percentage of the decrees issued by the Soviet system deal with problems of national-governmental building. The Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia, which was issued on 3 November 1917, promulgated the



basic principles of Soviet national policy: equality and sovereignty of the peoples, right to self-determination, including secession and setting up an independent country, elimination of all national restrictions and the free development of all nationalities. As early as December 1917 the Soviet government granted the peoples of the Ukraine, Poland and Finland the right to state independence; by the end of 1918 and beginning of 1919 it proclaimed the right of self-determination for the peoples of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and Belorussia. It denounced on its own initiative unequal agreements imposed previously by the tsarist and provisional governments, together with the governments of the other imperialist countries, on the peoples of Persia and Turkey. This convincingly proved to the entire world that the words of the worker-peasant system do not diverge from its actions.

The systematic implementation of a truly internationalist Leninist national policy allowed the Soviet system to earn the sincere trust of the toiling masses of the peoples of Russia and their firm support in building the first multinationalist state in the world. A major stage in the unification of the Soviet national republics around the RSFSR was the military and political alliance among republics, which had developed during the struggle against the White Guards and the interventionists, codified with the 1 June 1919 VTsIK decree (see vol V, pp 259-261). The voluntary unification of the independent Soviet republics within a unified multinational state--the USSR--which was proclaimed on 30 December 1922 at the First All-Russian Congress of Soviets, marked the historical victory of the Leninist ideas of proletarian internationalism, equality and friendship and fraternal cooperation among nations.

Many of the decrees included in this work reflect the tremendous concern shown by the Leninist party and the Soviet system for improving the material situation of the working people. Laws on the labor safety of workers and employees, streamlining wages, insurance against unemployment and illness and other decrees, aimed at meeting the vital interest of the working people, and the first Soviet code of labor laws, drafted and adopted as early as 1918, consolidating the successes of the proletarian revolution in this most important area. Great attention was paid to the housing problem. It was decreed that the local soviets had the right to move working people from slums into comfortable apartments in houses belonging to the bourgeoisie.

The extensive factual data cited in this multiple-volume work indicate the way the Soviet system, in solving political and socioeconomic problems of the proletarian revolution, systematically eliminated the vestiges of the class system and the old semi-serfdom way of life. As early as 12 November 1917, a decree abolishing classes and civilian ranks was published under the signatures of V.I. Lenin and Ya.M. Sverdlov; this voided forever all class privileges and restrictions, organizations and establishments. A single name was established for the entire population of the country, citizen of the Russian republic. In December 1917, special decrees issued by the Soviet system voided the old tsarist legislation on marriage and the family, which codified the rightlessness of women; a special code of laws on civil status, and marriage, family and guardianship rights was drafted and enacted in 1918.



"....No country or democratic legislation," Lenin emphasized with full justification, "has done even half as much for women compared with the Soviet system in the first months of its existence" (op cit., vol 39, p 201).

On 20 January 1918 the Sovnarkom passed the historical Decree on the Freedom of Conscience, Church and Religious Societies, the text of which was drafted by Lenin. The decree, which abolished all church privileges, separated the church from the state and the school; at the same time, full freedom of conscience and belief was promulgated.

It is thus that along with promoting socialist changes, having successfully cleaned the "Augian Stables" of the old society, the worker-peasant state solved once and for all the problems which had remained unsolved by the bourgeois-democratic revolution. As Lenin was to write later, "We can justifiably be proud of the fact that we carried out such cleaning much more decisively, quickly, daringly and successfully, widely and profoundly...than the French revolution" (op cit., vol 44, p 144).

The Great October Revolution also opened the way to the implementation of a socialist cultural revolution. Immediately, the Soviet system launched a tremendous effort to eliminate the most severe legacy of the bourgeois-landowning system--illiteracy. The SNK decree of 26 December 1919 on steps to eliminate illiteracy among the RSFSR population, signed by Lenin (see vol VII, pp 50-51) played an important role in organizing and rapidly spreading throughout the country a mass movement against illiteracy. No less outstanding pages were recorded in the history of the cultural revolution with the decrees which proclaimed museums, libraries, theatres and the press to be the property of the nation. A great number of documents in the publication deal with a great variety of problems of education and cultural construction. They include decrees on the new Soviet school, training and material support of teachers, the development of higher educational institutions, the opening of new institutes, and the registration and protection of monuments of the art and antiquity, the nationalization of the most important art collections, the preservation of archives, banning the export of national values abroad, the organization of theater work and music education and erecting monuments to Marx, Engels and noted philosophers and revolutionaries and men of science and culture.

Understandably, a journal review cannot comprehensively cover the extremely rich content and essential significance of such a tremendous number of legislative and executive acts included in this multiple-volume work. Let us merely emphasize that such a publication, drafted on a high scientific and ideological level, is the first of its kind in our country. The volumes dealing with documents alone cover all Soviet decrees and the tremendous work done by the party, the Leninist Sovnarkom and other supreme authorities of the Soviet republic for the legislative codification of the victory of the revolution and the implementation of radical changes in all areas of socioeconomic and cultural life, the successful defense of the gains of the October Revolution during the civil war and foreign intervention and the development of the peaceful building of socialism.

The carefully identified and scrupulously accurately presented texts of the decrees, the brief yet meaningful comments and the clear "legends," and indications of disparities in the individual texts, excellently chosen illustrations and a thorough referential system enable the reader, even one unfamiliar with the fine points of archeography and study of sources, clearly to see the way the decrees of the Soviet system were created and the way they fought for the cause of the revolution. Their publication is a truly unique source for the study of the history of the establishment of the Soviet state and of the first post-October years, when the foundations of the subsequent development of our society were being laid.

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#### AFTER PUBLICATION IN KOMMUNIST

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 86 (signed to press 10 Oct 86) pp 126-127

[Report by V. Mironenko, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee]

[Text] F. Filippov's review "Sociologist's Guidelines. Notes on Studies of the Problems of Soviet Youth in the 1980s" published in this journal (No 8, 1986) and the readers' responses to it (No 12) were discussed by the Komsomol Central Committee and the Scientific Research Center of the Higher Komsomol School (VKSh) of the Komsomol Central Committee. The importance and relevance of the question raised in KOMMUNIST on the development of Soviet youth sociology and upgrading the quality of research and its practical returns were noted. The urgency of organizing comprehensive and coordinated research on a union-wide scale on problems of the youth is unquestionable. The Council for the Coordination of Scientific Research on Youth Problems of the Komsomol Central Committee, the USSR Academy of Sciences, the USSR Ministry of Education and the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences fully shares this view.

More than 40 broad sociological studies were made between 1981 and 1986 by the council of scientists of the VKSh Scientific Research Center on problems of developing in young men and women a class-oriented approach to phenomena of social life and a corresponding political standard, on the role of Komsomol organizations in the reorganization of the Nonchernozem, the efficiency of Komsomol political training and economic upbringing and patriotic and atheistic education, the functioning of youth associations in the area of recreation, the shaping of a worthy replacement of the working class and kolkhoz peasantry, the development of feelings of proprietorship and a thrifty attitude toward socialist property, scientific and technical creativity, aesthetic culture, moral guidance, the strengthening of the socialist way of life in youth circles, and others.

A number of recommendations obtained as a result of such scientific studies were put to practical use by the Komsomol organizations.

As the journal accurately notes, presently sociologists are paying insufficient attention to problems of worker and peasant youth. Particularly important to Komsomol committees are studies related to problems of the work, way of life and recreation of young workers and kolkhoz members and the

elimination of drunkenness, hooliganism and other negative phenomena in youth circles. That is why the Komsomol organizations are profoundly interested in obtaining within the shortest possible time specific recommendations from sociologists on how actively to involve the young generation in solving the problems of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development, shaping socialist ideals and value orientations, organizing the leisure time of adolescents, developing mass youth physical culture and sports, etc.

This social instruction issued to sociologists will be discussed in greater detail in Komsomol-youth publications, the more so since so far the Council for the Coordination of Scientific Research on Problems of Youth has been unable to coordinate with adequate efficiency the research topics of different institutes, university departments and sections dealing with youth problems. Furthermore, the quality of a number of studies and the theoretical level of interpretation of the life of Soviet youth and nature of practical recommendations leave something better to be desired.

With a view to further upgrading the standard of sociological studies of problems of Soviet youth, the Komsomol Central Committee has passed a resolution on improving the structure of the VKSh Scientific Research Center. A department of public opinion and current sociological studies will be set up and so will a department in charge of coordinating research on youth problems. We hope that this will contribute to increasing practical returns on studies and will unify the efforts of sociologists dealing with youth problems in various scientific institutions and schools.

F. Filippov's review and the responses to it published in the journal justifiably note that publishing houses are still avoiding to publish works which raise sensitive problems related to negative phenomena in youth circles. In our view, this attitude on the part of the book publishers is inconsistent with the spirit of the time and hinders the completeness of scientific studies and upgrading the objectiveness and efficiency of our youth sociology.

Nevertheless, some stipulations expressed in the review are arguable. In particular, it would be hardly expedient to "lower" the age limit of youth in the studies to 25. We must also point out a certain one-sidedness and "selectiveness" shown by the author in his choice of topics and authors of the publications he reviewed.

The main thing, however, as was justifiably emphasized in KOMMUNIST, is for the standards of youth sociology to be consistent with the requirements of the present and the tasks set by the party to Soviet social science.

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CHRONICLE: VISITORS TO THE KOMMUNIST EDITORIAL OFFICE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 86 (signed to press 10 Oct 86) pp 127-128

[Text] Last September KOMMUNIST was visited by W. Klimczak, first deputy editor in chief of NOWE DROGI, the theoretical and political organ of the PZPR Central Committee. It was also visited by a delegation from EINHEIT, the journal of the SED Central Committee on the Theory and Practice of Scientific Socialism, consisting of J. Vorholtzer, deputy editor in chief, and P. Stechmesser, international department editor; a delegation of the journal TAPTI KONG SHAN, theoretical and political organ of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee, headed by Deputy Editor in Chief Nguyen Van Dan and Deputy Department Editor Nguyen Tyen Hai; and by deputy editor in chief of TARSADALMI SEMLE, the political and theoretical journal of the MSZMP, R. Varro. In the course of the meetings held in the editorial premises, problems of the further development of bilateral creative cooperation between the fraternal journalists were discussed.

The editors held talks with groups of students attending courses for party and state workers of the Hungarian People's Republic, headed by J. Pozgai, general secretary of the Patriotic People's Front, and with M. Lesko, responsible secretary of NOVE SLOVO, organ of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee (Czechoslovakia). The guests were interested in the main areas of work of the editors in implementing the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Journal KOMMUNIST."

During the visit paid to the editors by Professor M. Marua, head of the International Life Institute, topical problems of unifying the efforts of scientists from different countries, so that science may serve the cause of the preservation of the life on earth, were discussed.

KOMMUNIST was visited by S. Garland, secretary general of the Irish Workers Party. He was informed of the work of the journal in covering CPSU domestic and foreign policy.

The editors received a delegation from the Social Democratic Party of Germany, headed by F. Hauf, member of the board of the Social Democratic Party of Germany and deputy chairman of the faction of this group represented in the FRG Bundestag. The talk dealt with problems of ecology and economics. On the

invitation of the editors, the following participated in the discussion: USSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member V.A. Kovda, VASKHNIL Academician V.A. Tikhonov, VASKHNIL Corresponding Member Ye.Ye. Syroyechkovskiy, and Drs of Sciences O.S. Kolbasov, M.Ya. Lemeshev and N.F. Reymers.

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